Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

VOL. VI. (New Series), No. 253. FRIDAY, JANUARY 10, 1913. Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free, 1½d.)

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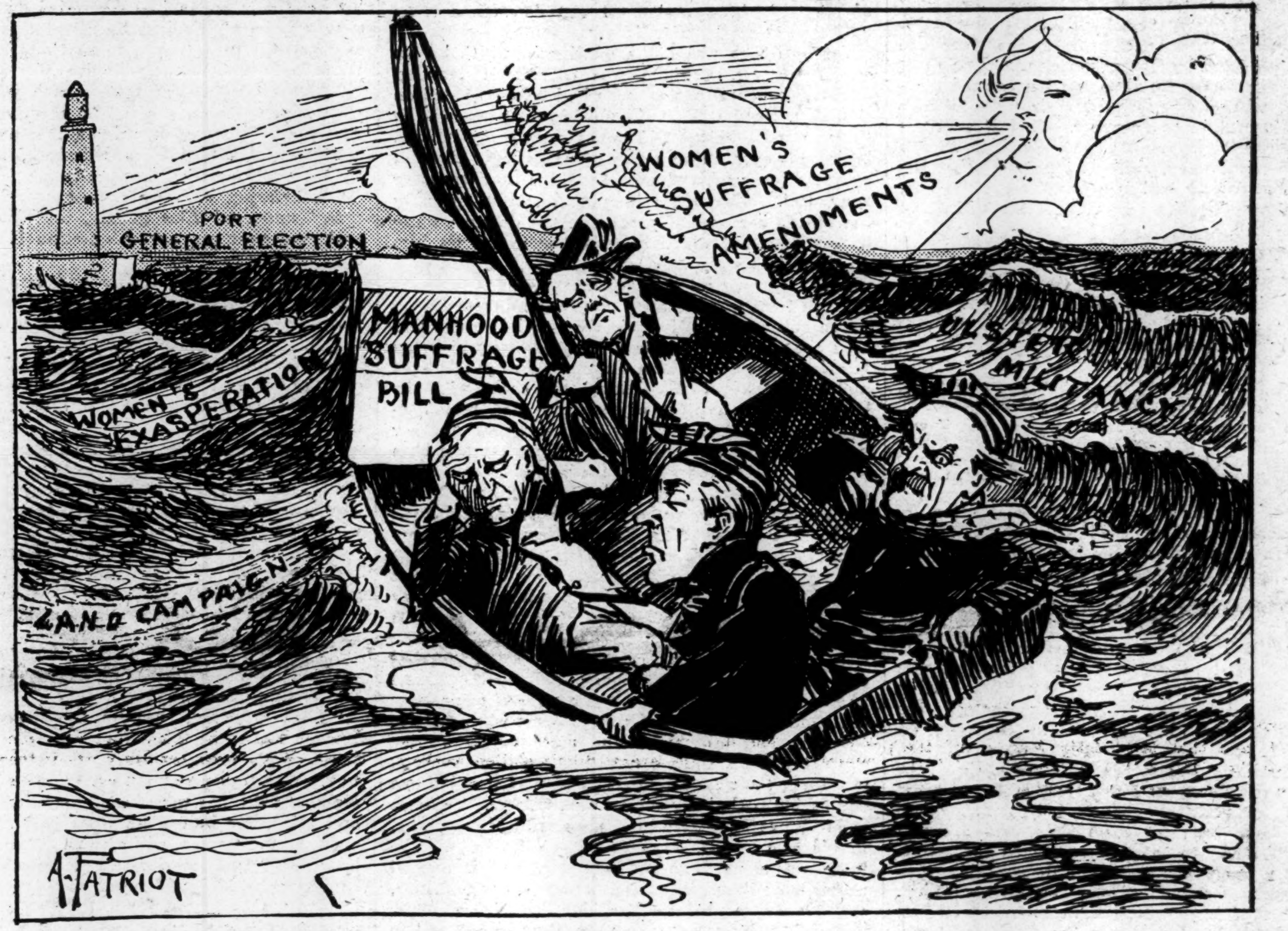
PERIODICAL DIVISION

THE GENERAL ELECTION RUMOUR



("It is generally known that the Government is unpopular in the country, and that a General Election could not in practice be confined to the question of Home Rule."—Evening paper.)

CHORUS OF SUFFERING CABINET MINISTERS: "Why didn't you take us into port last week, when you had the chance?"

BO'SUN ASQUITH (faintly): "I have nothing to add"—groans—"to my previous public declarations"—groans—"on the subject."

CONTENTS.

PAGE
Our Cartoon 213
The Outlook 213
Jimmy's Afternoon. By Mary Samuel Daniel 214
The Prospects of the Franchise Bill 215
New Books 216
The Child at the Court Theatre 216
For Girls and Boys 217
Will Women Unite? 218
Masculine Good Sense. By Joseph Clayton 219
A Human Tragedy 219
Suffragists in Westminster Abbey. By A. M. Buckton ... 220
The Agitation Throughout the Country 221
"A Girdle Round About the Earth" 222
The Case of Mrs. Napolitano ... 223

DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

It is now definitely stated that the Committee stage of the Franchise Bill will commence one day during the week beginning January 20, probably Thursday the 23rd. As the first Woman Suffrage amendment—the omission of the word "male"—proposed by Sir Edward Grey, Lord Robert Cecil, and others, is one of the very first amendments on the paper, it will almost certainly be discussed on the opening day.

The General Election Rumour

Each week brings its fresh crop of rumours as to the possible intentions of the Government. First we had the threatened resignation of Mr. Asquith, then the resuscitated proposal of a Referendum on Woman Suffrage, next the suggestion that the whole Franchise Bill would be delayed so as to be excluded from the benefit of the Parliament Act; and to no one of these rumours has Mr. Asquith consented to give an explicit denial. Finally, this week we have had the rumour that the Government were contemplating an early appeal to the country in the shape of another general election.

Party Opinion

It is too early yet to form any idea whether this rumour is more than an unjustifiable inference from a passage of arms between Mr. Asquith and Mr. Bonar Law which occurred during the discussion of the Home Rule Bill. But while both the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Daily News* deny the rumour, calling it "unwarrantable" and "unthinkable," it is significant that other Liberal daily papers preserve a strict silence on the matter, and the *Nation* declares that "the Government are just now under a singularly strong temptation" to challenge the electorate. On the Unionist side, the *Spectator* shares this view, on the ground that an election would provide the Cabinet with a solution of the Ulster difficulty, while the *Observer*, without giving credence to the rumour, warmly welcomes the idea. The *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Evening News* go so far as to prophesy a general election in February or March of this year; and the London correspondent of the *Birmingham Post* states that the Liberal central organisation has given orders for the extensive printing of election placards.

Suffragists Ready

Whether there is fire or not behind all this smoke, the fact stands out plainly that a general election would also, as the *Globe* suggests, offer Mr. Asquith a way out of the Woman Suffrage difficulty; and Woman Suffragists will be found ready and eager to take their part in it when it comes. It is clear, however, that were it to take place before the Franchise Bill had been settled, Mr. Asquith's pledge that this Parliament should have the opportunity of effectively dealing with the Woman Suffrage question would have been broken in the letter as well as in the spirit. In this connection it is interesting to notice that a member of the Government, in denying the rumour of an early general election, said to a *Daily Telegraph* reporter, "You may take it from me that the next general election will be based on Franchise and Redistribution, and not on Home Rule," indicating very clearly that in his opinion the Franchise question would not be settled in the present Parliament.

"The Free Vote of the House of Commons"

Other signs are not wanting as to the truth of this assumption. The *Daily Herald* has appointed a Special Commissioner to watch the Bill in the interests of the women, and he has made it his business to disclose in that paper the various plots within the House of Commons to defeat the Woman Suffrage amendment—disclosures which were anticipated by us in this paper months ago. The *Morning Post* affirms that, whatever becomes of Sir Edward Grey's amendment, the Government will, immediately after the voting thereupon, drop the Bill and adopt the Plural Voting Bill instead. In Wednesday's papers appeared a statement to the effect that the attempts made by Suffragists in the House to secure a majority for any one of the proposed amendments "have not proved altogether successful." This also we predicted more than a year ago. The Unionist Anti-Suffragist members have announced their intention of opposing all the amendments, including the one to delete the word "male." This amendment, it is now feared in quarters hitherto confident of success, stands in great danger of being lost—as we also foretold in our issue of December 13. To Suffragists the most encouraging sign of the times is the fact that while the Franchise Bill forms the chief political topic of the moment, the only part of the Bill that is ever discussed is the clause that is not in it!

The Franchise Bill and the Municipal Vote

The second clause, however, dealing with the Municipal Franchise, including the first schedule relating to it, ought not to pass unnoticed, both for its own sake and for the indication it gives of the anti-woman tendencies of the present Government. The Bill definitely decides in favour of the least liberal interpretation that has been placed on the Local Government Acts by Revising Barristers, and excludes married women from the franchise solely on the ground of their marriage. In this it is more hostile to women than are the avowed anti-Suffragists, who have expressed their wish to have the law reformed in this respect. And if an anti-Suffrage correspondent in the *Standard* of Friday last can be relied upon, there is a prospect that the Anti-Suffrage Society will join hands with the Suffragists in securing the removal of this additional blot on the Bill.

Mr. Bonar Law as Law-Breaker

While the illegality of Suffragists is being widely condemned, it is interesting to note that Mr. Bonar Law, in his passage of arms with Mr. Asquith, to which we have already referred, not merely defended the illegal preparations of Ulster, but admitted that he was at the present time actually encouraging them in their illegality. His words were:—

> I have said before, and I repeat now, that if you attempt to enforce this Bill when the people of Ulster believe, and have a right to believe, that you are doing it against the will of the people of this country, then I shall assist them in resisting it.

The fact is that illegality may be, and often is, the only means by which the inroads of the powers that be upon human liberty can be met and defeated.

Renewal of Torture in Prison

No further news has been received of the Suffragist prisoners in Holloway Gaol. From Mr. McKenna's answer in the House of Commons on January 1, which we printed in our last week's issue, it was apparent that Miss Elsie Howey was then being forcibly fed. It is known that she started the hunger strike after her arrival in Holloway on December 11, and that Miss Kitty Marion did the same on December 18; so the inference is that both these women, whose perfectly justifiable claim is to be treated as political offenders and not as common criminals, have been for some time, and are still being, subjected to a process which has been denounced as dangerous to life and unspeakably painful by leading members of the medical profession. In the *Lancet* of August 24, 1912, a report on forcible feeding, signed by Dr. Agnes Savill, Mr. Mansell Moullin, F.R.C.S., and Sir Victor Horsley, F.R.S., F.R.C.S., contained the following passage:—

> We are confident that were the details of the cases we have examined fully known to the profession, this practice, which consists in fact of a severe physical and mental torture, could no longer be carried out in prisons of the twentieth century.

Yet this process, as we write, is being carried out by force on two women political prisoners by order of the Home Secretary.

Votes for Women in China

Votes for Women in China appears to have been one of the subjects touched upon in a meeting held last Monday in the House of Commons to hear Mr. Hain Jou Kia, who let fall what we stated in last week's issue, that it is only in the province of Canton that women have won the franchise, and that only for municipal elections. The original report which reached this country to the effect that women in China had won the full franchise was probably grounded on the fact that, owing to their plucky militant demonstration in Nankin last February, they were allowed to vote for the Provisional Assembly which met to draw up the new Chinese Constitution. Their ultimate exclusion from the Constitution when framed has led, we are delighted to read in the *Daily News*, to a further militant demonstration in Pekin.

Not Even Part of the Public!

Is "the public," as well as the voter, only male? Last Wednesday Miss Billinghurst, Miss Gay, and Miss Mitchell were brought up on remand at the Old Bailey, charged with damaging pillar-boxes. Sentence was deferred till next day. By special order of the Recorder, all women were excluded from the Court. Such exclusion is a distinct infringement of the first principles of British justice, and we are glad to hear, as we go to Press, that the question is being brought before the House of Commons. If women are not even to count as part of "the public," what rights are left them beyond that of standing in the dock?

JIMMY'S AFTERNOON

By Mary Samuel Daniel.

At five o'clock the operating surgeon passed through the entrance-door, and, with a friendly, if rather pre-occupied, nod to the porter who opened it, stood for a contemplative moment at the top of the stone steps leading up to the hospital, glancing at, without seeing, the pair of gloves held in one hand, and aware somewhere near the bottom step of a gleam of yellow daffodils.

The westering April sun caught the flower-seller's basket in a golden glory, and fell with mellowing touches on the dull walls of the houses in the long, irregular street, where cottages with ancient gables and windows dedicated to those public favourites, the pig's trotter and the British bun, stood wedged between large modern emporiums flaunting tawdry cheap apparel and ornately adulterated food.

"That's it!" said Dr. Graham to himself. "A cup of tea with Aunt Leebie. I can do with a little optimism this afternoon."

Yet optimism was not a quality in which by his co-workers Dr. Graham was considered lacking. Jimmy, the small patient who had been operated on that day, though he would not have expressed it in those words, thought him extremely optimistic, basing his opinion on a flow of unfailingly cheerful conversation combined with air-ships that flew over your bed. The little ward-maid, who proudly boasted as her special perquisite the doctor's white operating coats, which he gave her to cut up into aprons "long afore they was wore out," agreed with Jimmy, infusing into the agreement a demonstrative warmth from which Jimmy manfully abstained.

The surgeon passed down the hospital steps and took the short cut to the Green, beyond which lay Maitland Road and Miss Elizabeth Sampson's neat and cheerful villa. Miss Elizabeth's choice of Maitland Road as a place of residence had been subconsciously determined by its nearness to her nephew's hospital; consciously, the matter had been placed "unreservedly" in the hands of an overruling Providence, strengthened incidentally by those of approving, authoritative Scottish relatives.

The appearance of the flower-seller suggested, unpleasantly, Jimmy's mother, towards whom in the clean sunshine of this April afternoon he felt a not unreasonable grudge for having produced that sorry addition to the race—Jimmy. (He must get him a new air-ship for convalescence—if ever those days were reached.) Certainly, and this reflection further upset the world for him, a quite diabolically-tangled web of contributory causes had combined to produce that God-forsaken slip of wretchedness whose pitiful offspring had lain stark and mute to-day on the operating table, while several highly-skilled workers put forth their finest efforts to save if possible one deplorable little body rotten with disease. To what end? What was likely to be the end of Jimmy, who, in his own words, "hadn't got no father"? The lump was gone from his shoulder, and it seemed rather more than likely the arm might have to follow, and Jimmy—doubtful subject for thankfulness—was alive still. Why, anyway, were Jimmies allowed to come in such promiscuous abundance into this already overcrowded corner of a rotten world?—a world, nevertheless, which produced daffodils golden in April sunshine, and in which the blades of grass were springing emerald green after April rain. He had obviously overpaid the flower-seller for these daffodils, but they would help to brighten up the corners of the cosy room at Maitland Road, particularly if—it was Joan Marchmont he saw putting them into bowls where the light would find them.

Would she have run in from her studio this afternoon to see Aunt Leebie? Her face painted itself for him as he strode across the Green. Joan, with her hazel-grey eyes and the lashes curling upwards, her gold-brown hair with the wavy tendrils on the temples, her serious mouth so sweet in the dimpled corners; Joan with her ridiculous devotion to work and independence and—causes. Why, she could have her studio just the same if—yes, and paint as many pictures as she liked! And as to causes? Yes, yes, of course; he couldn't separate Joan and causes, and he wouldn't if he could. Causes were necessary evils; Jimmy and his mother were pretty clear proofs of that. For Jimmy's was a common case, the old, old story of a bad man and his prey; and the man, as usual, had escaped all punishment. He hated the thought of Joan and Jimmy's mother as two aspects of one question. Joan and her blossoming face; motherhood, as it so often was and as it might be—Joan and Jimmy's mother—things were damnably mixed up and muddled; but, oh, the Lord preserve her—and him—from hammers and Holloway!

Would she be there this afternoon? That "little more," the muchness of which he realised in a daily increasing vividness; would it be any nearer to-day? Perhaps the question was too manifestly in his eyes as he presented his flowers. Perhaps it accounted for the sudden readjustment of Joan's, as she held out eager hands for the daffodils and made haste to find bowls for them, and became very busy in corners as Miss Elizabeth marshalled the teacups. There was an almost perceptibly exultant rattle of the little thin silver spoons in their delicate old blue saucers. To hold the fate of the two people you love best in the world poised in the hollow of your hand; to give two havering, foolish bodies one more chance to make an end of folly; to lead Opportunity firmly but discreetly by the fingers—Miss Sampson foresaw the imminent hour when prayer must surely be merged in thanksgiving.

"Eh, Joan, and you'll maybe find a mat," remarked Aunt Leebie, affecting, with only partial success, an unawareness of the dramatic moment; "I'm not for water-droppings all over my polished mahogany. And, for any sake, child, come and sit you down in comfort to your tea."

For answer a pair of arms came round the little low shoulders and a kiss descended on the soft and silvery hair. "It's just beautiful this afternoon," said artful Joan. "I'd give anything to have lovely white hair like yours, Leebie dear."

"And what'll be the matter with your own, I'm wondering? Alec, you'll find the scones perhaps. And what thirsty work will you have been doing this afternoon?" added Miss Elizabeth, manipulating with a nicety and justness the cream.

"Interfering with Nature's merciful destructiveness," answered Alec grimly, and Joan's curving eyelashes went up, and a question filled the wide-open, steady grey eyes.

Later, when Aunt Leebie had bustled from the room on absorbing business elsewhere—"Tell me more about it," said Joan. "I know there is more to tell."

And he told her the plain story of Jimmy. They often talked over the terrible facts of life; they were the best of comrades, these two, though one was very much in love.

"It's horrible," said Alec, in conclusion. "The mother was a child, barely sixteen; and for men like the father there is no justice in things as they stand. The law, as made, neither can nor will deal justly with these devils."

"No," said Joan. "The law, as made, is man's law, and—oh, you know, you know . . . *We've* got to get it altered—we women. Women must do it—for women and children—and men. We've got to do it with——"

"Hammers?" put in Alec, whimsically, looking with a curious heart-pang at the tightly-clasped frail-looking hands.

"With violence, apparently—the kingdom of Heaven has to be taken that way, you know, sometimes. With force, certainly, if—if there is no other way. What other way is there?" she added passionately. "All other ways have been tried—and tried—and tried, for half a hundred years. One instrument, and one alone, will give us power to amend the law; and man's law for men and women has got to be changed. Men will never change it, neither will they give us, without force, that for want of which all our crusades are futile. Therefore"—the voice dropped sadly and very wearily, but not unsteadily; "therefore we shall use—whatever force is necessary, and some of us, I suppose, will die. No," she said, as, remonstrating, he tried to take her hand; "no, I cannot listen now——"

"Yes," broke in Alec, "you shall listen. You know I love you, and—I believe you love me. You don't know it, perhaps, yet; but I believe you will. Joan, marry me. I won't hinder your—your work, however mistaken I think its methods. I want you as my wife. Perhaps the world wants us—both. It isn't for nothing a man loves a woman as I love you. Marry me, Joan, and—see." He had hold of her hands. As they stood facing each other, he felt them tremble, and her slight body sway a little. Then the curved lashes swept up, revealing eyes dim with tears.

He needed her, this valiant lover. She saw his man's need of her; saw, too, as through a widely-opened window, a vision of her rightful woman's kingdom, its sweet sanctities of wifehood and motherhood and home. And there he stood, the man who held the key to the treasure-house, who loved her, whom she knew she loved.

"And some of us will die." Remorselessly her own words echoed in her heart.

Freeing her hands, she retook both of his and held them tightly.

"I love you," she said. She paused, and her eyes were proud and glad—and loving. "But—while men keep barred the door of justice on women; while men can, within the law, shut women up in hell; while motherhood can be—what it is to Jimmy's mother, and men within the law can make it so, I will never marry any man. Go and work for us—for the common cause, women's cause and men's. It is true the world wants us both, and together. Go and help to break down the evil wall of partition. And when the cause is won, on the day that victory is ours—if you still want me——" She kissed his hands as she held them, smiling through tender tears. "I love you," she ended. "I will marry you—*then*."

PROSPECTS OF THE FRANCHISE BILL

Government Plots Exposed in the Press—Probable Date of Committee Stage—The Word "Male"

The Committee stage of the Franchise Bill, it now appears certain, will be entered upon towards the end of the week beginning January 20, the most likely date being Thursday, January 23. It is thought probable that the Grey amendment, to delete the word "male," will be taken at once, as upon that amendment will depend not only the fate of the other women's amendments, but also not improbably that of the Franchise Bill itself. We give below a most important communication which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* last Wednesday, from its Political Correspondent, which bears out everything we have always said with regard to the almost insuperable difficulty of obtaining a majority for any one of the proposed Woman Suffrage amendments.

In spite of the counter attractions of the Unionist split and a general election rumour, the prospects of the Franchise Bill, or, rather, of the women's amendments to it, have formed a topic of increasing political interest in the Press of the week. A notable circumstance is the appointment by the *Daily Herald* of a Special Commissioner, whose business it is to watch the progress of the Bill in the women's interests, and he has rendered a signal service to the Suffrage cause by his frank exposure on Tuesday and Wednesday in this week of the whole history of the Prime Minister's so-called pledge to women Suffragists. The same paper, in a leading article, calls upon the I.L.P. to lobby Suffragist Members of Parliament during the next ten days. We give also on this page extracts from daily and weekly papers all over the country, testifying not only to the great interest taken in the Bill, but also to the fact that this interest is centred mainly, if not only, in the Woman Suffrage amendments to it.

Thursday, January 2nd

Lord R. Cecil asked the Prime Minister if he will state when he proposes to take the Committee stage of the Franchise and Registration Bill?

Mr. McKenna: We hope to enter upon the Committee stage of the Franchise Bill during the week beginning January 20.

The Political Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, writing on January 6, said:—"The Committee stage of the Franchise Bill will begin with the time-table resolution, which will be proposed, according to present intentions, on January 24, but the women's suffrage amendment will, it is understood, be taken outside the time table."

On January 8, the following statement was made by the same writer in the *Manchester Guardian*:—

"Parliamentary interest is now concentrated on the fortunes of the Franchise Bill and the women's suffrage amendments to it. . . . The most likely date now seems to be Thursday fortnight, the 23rd inst. The Grey amendment might be taken at once outside the time-table, and the debate on it concluded, as has already been stated, on the 24th. It is now certain that the anti-suffragists will divide against the amendment with as strong a muster as they can, and the fate of the other amendments, and not improbably of the Franchise Bill itself, depends on the division. The Conservative Anti-Suffragist Committee met in the House this afternoon, with Sir Frederick Banbury in the chair. Twenty-five members were present, amongst them Mr. Austen Chamberlain and Mr. F. E. Smith. After discussion, it was decided to divide against all the suffrage amendments, including Sir Edward Grey's—the decision in the case of it being based on the belief that it would in itself give ground for the enfranchisement of women as a whole, a point which has already been much debated and on which the opinions of eminent lawyers differ. A sub-committee was appointed to confer with the Liberal anti-suffragists. The opponents of women's suffrage claim that they have a good chance of defeating this initial amendment. If they do so it will mean, of course, that a large number of members will have reconsidered their previous votes, and in some cases their actual pledges, and that those members who have hitherto absented themselves from all suffrage divisions (there are a good many of them) will turn and vote against. Already complaints are being made that the vote is not to be free, and that there is 'lobbying' going on against the suffrage. It would, however, be a mistake to take these too seriously, inasmuch as 'lobbying' is actually going forward with great activity on both sides, and the suffrage organisations and their sympathisers in the House are working at least as hard in this way as their opponents. If the anti-suffragists are actually alleging possible resignations of Ministers as a result of a suffrage victory—the Ministers said to be in question being the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, and Mr. Harcourt—all one can say is that the members who are influenced by such a report cannot be aware of the repeated declarations of the Prime Minister on the subject."

The *Times*, stating that the adult suffrage group also held a meeting in the House of Commons on Tuesday, with Mr. Henderson in the chair, adds:—

"It is stated that the negotiations which have been in progress to secure unity among the friends of women's suffrage have not proved altogether successful. If the first amendment to strike out the word 'male' is carried, and the adult suffrage proposal defeated, Unionist suffragists will be divided on the Dickinson amendment, and if this also fails full support will not be forthcoming from the Ministerial suffragists for the conciliation committee's amendment."

SIR EDWARD GREY'S AMENDMENT

To Delete the Word "Male"

Will it be Carried?

A most interesting situation is developing over the women, for the latest move of the "antis" is that Sir Edward Grey's amendment to omit the wicked word "male" should be accepted without a division. The idea is that a perfidious policy is best defeated on the later and more specific proposals. I cannot help thinking that if the word "male" is deleted the country will consider that women's suffrage has been allowed, as it were, a second reading, and must be carried in some form or another.—**Truth, Jan. 1.**

There is a strong opinion that this amendment will be carried, although it is impossible to be certain about it.—**Pall Mall Gazette, Jan. 4.**

The general expectation in the Lobby is that the amendment will be defeated.—**Morning Post, Jan. 8.**

Should the amendment fail to pass, it is probable that no other proposal dealing with Women's Suffrage can be discussed. **—Wallasey News, Jan. 4.**

MR. ASQUITH'S PLEDGE

The "Free" Vote

The Special Commissioner, appointed by the *Daily Herald*, dealt as follows last Monday with Mr. Asquith's pledge to leave the House "free" to vote as it pleased on the women's amendments:—"Will there, in fact, be a free House? I am sorry to say that all my enquiries, which have been honestly undertaken with a view to arrive at the facts, go to convince me that unless public opinion be aroused and unmistakably expressed, at least a third of the House will be as little free as though the Government Whips were put on to tell against the amendments. In other words, whilst the vote is supposed to be one based upon the merits of the question before the House, it will really have been dictated largely by secretly suggested motives of Party expediency, intended to secure the defeat of the proposals. That these suggestions emanate from those who are intimately in the councils of the Government there can no longer, I am afraid, in face of the evidence, be any doubt.

"What, then, becomes of the 'free and unfettered' decision which was promised to the women supporters of the Government? What, in a word, becomes of Mr. Asquith's pledge? This is what a large number of women are now asking."

In last Wednesday's *Daily Herald*, their Special Commissioner, after exposing step by step all the plots on foot in the House of Commons to render Mr. Asquith's pledge worthless, says:—"Here is a matter in which the Premier's honour is at stake. If he does know, how is it that he has taken no steps to repudiate this shabby and discreditable intrigue? If he does not know, isn't it high time that he did?"

He endorses the statement quoted below from the *Daily Citizen* to the effect that Home Rule will be endangered by the hostility of the Irish vote to the women's amendments because Labour votes may be turned against Home Rule by such a course of action; and concludes by saying that the only explanation of the acquiescence of Anti-Suffragist Cabinet Ministers in Mr. Asquith's pledge to Woman Suffragists is to be found in the assumption that they knew nothing about it:—"There is little doubt but that the 'move' was a private arrangement between Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George, and was so calculated that it would leave them both free to play their old game of battledore and shuttlecock with the women's interests. There is every reason to suppose that the only other member of the Government who was taken into their confidence was Mr. Masterman. Indeed, it is not certain that it was not first of all arranged between Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Masterman."

"Anti" Cabinet Ministers

The London Correspondent of the *Yorkshire Post* writes:—

"I have the authority of a Minister for saying that both Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Lewis Harcourt have picketed the Lobby in the interests of the anti-Suffragists, holding over the heads of Liberals the threat of the resignation of these two members of the Cabinet if the women's amendments to the Franchise Bill are carried.

"This form of 'peaceful persuasion' has given deep offence to prominent Radicals interested in the suffrage amendments. I understand that a strong personal appeal has been made to the Prime Minister, through a quarter he cannot ignore, asking him to put an end to the uncertainty created by these threats by making a clear and explicit statement regarding the present attitude of the Government towards women's suffrage."

The Irish Party and the Bill

The Lobby Correspondent of the *Daily Citizen* said on January 8 in that paper:—

"If the full suffragist strength among the Nationalists can be rallied a fortnight hence, it will go far to ensure victory. But the anti-suffragists have lobbied and button-holed the Irish Members, and have done their best to convince them that the passing of suffrage means the destruction of Home Rule, and of all that the party has toiled for for many years. These statements are groundless, and the rumours sedulously spread about resignations and dissolutions have been sharply contradicted, and are known to be merely an invention of the enemy. . . . If there is actual betrayal of the women's cause by the Nationalist members, support of Home Rule would in many cases be turned to hostility, and a most serious situation would be created. If the hopes of British women are changed to anger and disappointment and defeat, I am convinced that the whole position in regard to Home Rule will change for the worse. Women suffragists will expect, and have a right to expect, that the Nationalist Whips will do nothing to dissuade the 40 supporters in that party from remaining true to their principles and going into the right lobby."

THE I.L.P. AND THE BILL

Referring to the campaign of propaganda now being promoted by Mr. Keir Hardie among Labour men outside Parliament, the *Daily Herald*, in its leading article last Wednesday, said:—

"There are close on 400 men in the House of Commons pledged to Women's Suffrage, and the I.L.P. can do no better work, and the great Trade Unions of the country can do no better work, than to just devote the next ten days to active and persistent propaganda amongst Members of Parliament

"We would suggest to Mr. Keir Hardie and his friends that, while writing for the *Labour Leader* and speaking at demonstrations up and down the country is very excellent propaganda in a way, at this moment the most effective piece of work they can do would be to call a meeting of the 400 Members of Parliament mentioned above and try to instil into them what honour and duty demand from them at this crisis of the Women's movement, because, undoubtedly, almost everything that can be done outside Parliament has been done already.

"No solid argument against the women is forthcoming. Silly talk about the evil effects of militancy should have no weight whatsoever, and we should see, especially through men like Snowden and Keir Hardie, that a concerted effort is made to bring these other Members of Parliament into line."

Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P.

Mr. Keir Hardie, speaking at Glasgow, last Sunday, on the chances of the women's amendments, said, "If the working classes wanted social questions dealt with they must put more bite into the movement than they had done during the immediate past, and that applied to the party in the House of Commons as well as to those outside."

THE WOMEN'S LIBERAL FEDERATION

The Executive Committee of the Women's Liberal Federation, sitting last Tuesday as the "Reform Bill Committee," with Rosalind Countess of Carlisle in the chair, recommended the Executive at its next monthly meeting on January 28 to take into consideration the situation created by the passing or the defeat of the women's suffrage amendments to the Reform Bill, which are expected to have been voted upon in the House of Commons in the preceding week, and in the event of no women's suffrage amendment having been carried to decide whether a special council shall be called to determine what is to be the future work of the Women's Liberal Federation.

A WARNING

A correspondent, in the course of a communication to the *Daily Herald*, writes as follows:—

"It is difficult to imagine anything more serious than the situation which now faces us in the whole matter of the franchise. . . .

"On a fair franchise, in which women participated, one would say that men are what they are, and you must take the world as you find it, but, as matters stand to-day, this gerrymandering of the franchise solely in the interests of the sex to which the legislators belong, is not only a wanton insult to women, but a danger to society, which would in the end have to pay bitterly its accomplishment. There is, too, a more immediate danger which I foresee in the event of the accomplishment of this sinister proposal, and that is, the bitterness of the passions which will be aroused among thousands of women who, up to now, have been inclined to disapprove of the more militant forms of agitation. If this crime be perpetrated, the worst that the militant agitators have said of Government and of Parliament will appear but feeble beside the reality, and, knowing what I do, I am appalled at the thought of what is before us."

FROM THE PRESS

In the seven weeks which remain of the present amazing session the Government have announced their intention of passing their three Bills of first -class importance. . . . The worst case of all is the Franchise Bill, because an honest franchise could always be passed by consent. . . . As it is, the so-called Electoral Reform Bill is the last word in electoral partisanship.—**Spectator, Jan. 4.**

Recent events have tended to clarify the policy of the Government. With regard to the Franchise Bill, now before the House of Commons, there is a widespread belief that not one of the woman suffrage amendments will be accepted in the Committee stage, though the Dickinson proposal possibly stands the best chance of adoption. In the event of this belief being realised, it is highly probable that the Government will not proceed with the measure as a whole, but concentrate their efforts upon the abolition of plural voting.—**Daily Telegraph, Jan. 6.**

Difficulties surround the Government at every point over the Bill. . . . It is quite likely that whatever becomes of the Grey amendment the Government will immediately after the vote thereupon withdraw the Bill and adopt that of Mr. Harold Baker, which he brought in and passed before he became a member of the Ministry. . . . It is a short Bill; it would not admit of Suffragist interpolations; it would suit the party book of every section of the Coalition, and could be easily closured—an ideal condition of things from the Government's point of view.—**Morning Post, Jan. 8.**

The disciples of the various schools are now engaged in a counting of heads and in lobbying for their particular cause. Between the extreme Suffragists and the "Antis" a bitter Parliamentary campaign will be waged. If the "Antis" win—and they are fairly confident—Mr. Asquith, Mr. Harcourt, Mr. McKenna, and Mr. Churchill will be relieved from a serious problem. Rumour goes so far as to say that in the event of women finding a place on the Parliamentary register, more than one Minister will refuse to seek their suffrages.—**Evening News (Lobby Correspondent), Jan. 7.**

The Ministry will soon be in the troubled waters of female franchise, and the Opposition will be offered the engaging spectacle of a divided Government struggling in spite of their divisions to make a show of consistency, if not of agreement. The palpable inconsistencies and subterfuges of the members of the Cabinet on this question have greatly embittered the Suffragettes, constitutional as well as militant, and a very large account has yet to be settled by the Government. **—Globe Jan. 3.**

With regard to Franchise Reform the attitude of the Peers is rather more in doubt. It will excite no surprise if they seek to modify the Franchise Bill by radical amendments in Committee. In that case the Commons would have to reassemble at once to consider the Lords' amendments. The Franchise Bill, however, may conceivably occasion the Government a good deal of trouble before it is ever sent up to the Lords at all. The amendments of which Sir Edward Grey and others have given notice on the subject of women's franchise must necessarily prove embarrassing to Mr. Asquith and his colleagues, for it is notorious that the Cabinet is rent from top to bottom on the question of votes for women.—**Dublin Express, Dec. 30.**

A Conundrum

If there is no political party in existence or anywhere in sight save the very smallest, namely, the Labour-Socialist party, that is in favour of Votes for Women, and if Mr. Asquith says woman suffrage would be a "national disaster," why is the Government going to let the House waste time on Tuesday fortnight in going through the form of debating an amendment to turn the Manhood Suffrage Bill into a Womanhood Suffrage Bill?—**Chas. T. King in the "Daily Express," Jan. 4.**

NEW BOOKS

TWO POETS*

They are different, for both are good, and no two good writers are ever alike. But still they have very much in common—the same kind of knowledge, the same love of the arts and belief in them, an upbringing in the same general class of society, and the same general outlook upon the world. Both have imbibed the best poetic feeling of our time, at all events up to the beginning of this century, and are well aware of the best artistic work in other kinds, though with the same limit. Both are much attracted by beautiful myths, especially of Greece, Italy, and, in Miss Gore-Booth's case, of Ireland. And unquestionably both have the gift of verse, Lady Margaret Sackville's gift being the richer in music. She is more elaborate, but at the same time she has by nature the finer sense of words and rhythm.

What both want is power—a power that no amount of study in books or arts can give, no amount of culture or association with people who are never compelled to face the crude and fundamental passions and difficulties of life The kind of power that we mean only comes through personal struggle, personal suffering or joy, among harsh and unavoidable realities, and in reading these books we can never be quite sure that any passage has been profoundly felt by the writer—that it expresses a deep, personal emotion which cried for utterance; nor is the outer world of common reality seen in them revealed by the poet's deep and sudden insight.

That is what we expect of poetry, but perhaps we expect too much. And within their limits, as we said, both poets are good. For us, the most directly interesting of Miss Gore-Booth's poems is "The Everlasting Heretic"—on the whole, we think, the finest of the poems, even apart from its special interest to ourselves. It treats of the statue of the wounded Amazon in Rome. The second verse runs :—

> The world's first heretic and questioner
> Of the dark instincts, this was her reward—
> Red fire that burned the very heart of her—
> She took the sword and perished by the sword.

As more directly concerned with our present world, we may also quote "The Anti-Suffragist" :—

> The princess in her world-old tower pined
> A prisoner, brazen-caged, without a gleam
> Of sunlight, or a windowful of wind;
> She lived but in a long lamp-lighted dream.
>
> They brought her forth at last when she was old;
> The sunlight on her blanchèd hair was shed
> Too late to turn its silver into gold,
> "Ah, shield me from this brazen glare!" she said.

There, for a moment, the poet touches reality, and with admirable effect. Lady Margaret Sackville hardly ever gets so near the actual life as that. She has the poet's sense and a true gift of beautiful verse; but she speaks of a different world from this—a world much spoken of some eighteen or twenty years ago, but now worn rather thin and ghostly. There are many of her lyrics we should like to quote for their real beauty, but the verse most suitable here is not a lyric but an epigram. It runs :—

> Eve, smiling, plucked the apple, then
> Laughed, sighed—and tasted it again;
> "Strange such a pleasant, juicy thing
> On a forbidden tree should spring!"
>
> But had she seen with clearer eyes,
> Or had the serpent been less wise,
> She'd scarce have shown such little wit
> As to let Adam taste of it!"

H. W. N.

◆

MEMOIRS OF AN ACTRESS†

It does not appear to follow that because a life has been an interesting one, the written account of it will prove readable. This is doubly true in the case of an autobiography; for where a Boswell, of course, would make the dullest man a hero to his valet, a comedy actress, like Madame Judith, whose Autobiography has recently appeared in a charming English edition, is capable of boring her most admiring readers, simply because she is not enough of an egoist to write amusingly about herself. Not that this memoir of the famous star of the Comédie Française is dull; but, considering the interesting period of European history it covers, it does occasionally strike us as slightly trivial. One would like to hear very much more, for instance, of the events of 1848, when modern French history was in the making. As it is, Madame Judith gives only one episode of the June insurrection, though it is a thrilling one. "As for me," she writes,

> in my rooms in the Rue de Richelieu, I was consumed with anxiety with regard to my old mother, who lived in the Faubourg du Temple. For two whole days I had been listening to the boom of cannon and volleys of musketry that did not cease even at night. It was one long, continuous, awful and sinister roar. The closed shutters of the windows looking on to the street, the ceaseless outcries from below, the close confinement in my hermetically sealed apartments all contributed to madden me with terror for my mother, especially as I knew that the Faubourg du Temple was one of the most exposed situations in the town.

The story of the way she sallies forth from her apartment, crosses Paris under fire, and climbs a barricade in order to assure herself of her mother's safety, is told with the utmost modesty; though the expedition must have demanded very great courage on her part.

Another episode of particular interest to readers of Votes for Women is that of a luncheon party at the prison of the Conciergerie, where the hosts were the two sons of Victor Hugo and the editor of the *Evénement*, who were all imprisoned there for writing articles against the Government. Madame Judith, on her way there, met Prince Napoleon (cousin of the reigning Louis-Napoleon), who was a friend of hers, and persuaded him to come too :—

> At the Palais Royal he made my coachman stop, and told the footman to buy a lot of provisions and choice wine. "*Visitare captivos* is one of the seven works of mercy," he remarked as he piled up pastry, hams and bottles of Bordeaux and champagne on the seat between us. We had quite a business of unloading to go through when we at last arrived at the Conciergerie.

All this sounds a little familiar, but the parallel ends abruptly here, for French political prisoners of 1848 seem to have treated their prison very much as a hotel. No Rule 243a for them! They were allowed to meet together as much as they liked, and the luncheon party was a merry one :—

> Vacquerie, Meurice and the two Hugos all wore red caps they had got for the occasion, I don't know how, and they produced others for me and the Prince to don. At every successive course and the opening of every fresh bottle of wine we sang a verse of the Marseillaise. "To liberty!" cried Vacquerie, raising his glass, and the Prince clinked glasses with him. "Death to the tyrant!" shouted Meurice. "Judith, we count on you to behead the new Holofernes!"
>
> At this juncture a warder came to inform us respectfully that everyone in the prison could hear us, and a crowd had collected outside our door. . . . The next morning all the opposition newspapers were full of our escapade. It was stated that the Prince-President was disowned by his own family, and that his own cousin had joined the opponents of the Coup d'Etat.

Nothing else in the book is quite so interesting to Suffragists; but they will find a good deal that is worth reading in the stories about the two Dumas, about Rachel and Théophile Gautier, and other figures of a very dramatic period of French history.

◆

A PRISONER'S CORRESPONDENCE*

There are doubtless many readers of this paper who feel themselves to be experts in the subject on which Mrs. Fred Reynolds has based her book, "Letters to a Prison." That is to say, every Suffragist, whose friend has broken the law in the name of the cause, has written letters to a prison. In very few cases have the letters reached the prisoner, and in still fewer cases have any answers to them come back to the writer; while those that did get through the prison gates were almost worthless, because the only interesting passages in them had been censored. Still, every Suffragist who has been to prison knows the kind of letter she would have liked to receive there, and we do not think it would resemble the letters written by the heroine of Mrs. Reynolds's book to her husband in prison. For these are literary discourses; and in prison one does not want literary discourses, one wants two things, (1) important news and (2) a definite assurance—it cannot be too definite—that the outside world has not forgotten one's existence. Naturally, we do not suppose that the ordinary prisoner wants to hear whether the Franchise Bill has been dropped by the Government; but we are sure he would not want pages about sunsets and mountains and blossoming hedges and rabbits. It is true that the "Letters to a Prison" contain a certain amount of family or village news, but it is always of some disaster or tragedy; and the affectionate declarations are so many and so sentimental that we think they would be most upsetting in prison, where one's nerves are always on the stretch to breaking point. There is no explanation, by the way, as to why the prisoner is allowed both to receive and to write so many letters, nor why his wife apparently does not pay him a single visit the whole time he is in gaol.

A very interesting book of prison letters might be written, and almost any active Suffragist could write one; but the compilation would not remotely resemble that made by Mrs. Fred Reynolds, and its proper title would be "Undelivered Letters."

---

* (1) "The Agate Lamp." By Eva Gore-Booth. (Longmans. 2s. 6d.)
(2) "Lyrics." By Lady Margaret Sackville. (Herbert and Daniel. 3s. 6d.)

† "My Autobiography." By Madame Judith. (Eveleigh Nash. 10s. 6d.)

* "Letters to a Prison." By Mrs. Fred Reynolds. (Chapman and Hall. 6s.)

THE CHILD AT THE COURT THETREA

"Well," we asked when Miss Margaret Morris's Matinée was over, "which did you like best, 'Cinderella,' or 'Monday's Child,' or 'Old People,' or the dancing?"

"It's rather difficult to answer," the Child replied politely, "because they was all so nice." And that, we felt ourselves, was the difficulty The Child was one of two whom, with the help of the District Nurse, we had borrowed for the occasion, since obviously the real way to enjoy a children's entertainment is to take a child or two with you; and preferably those who come from a home where there is not much money, and where Mother works very hard, and where the mere fact of being taken to an entertainment of any kind is a very great event. They had once been to a theatre before, they said, but not a "real one like this," and the lights, and the painted curtains, and, above all, the other children in the stalls, were all sources of wonderment, quite apart from what happened on the stage.

Just how much those two pale-faced little people (one of whom spends her days at the "delicate" school) enjoyed the afternoon could only be gauged by watching their intent faces, and catching the sudden sunshiny smiles that were continually breaking out. For they were very "well-behaved" (that had been their ostensible title to the "treat"), and they did not show their pleasure in boisterous ways. One of these smiles (indeed, it grew into a delightful laugh) came when Thursday's Child, who had to work so hard for a living, threw down her mop and danced gaily round her pail (they knew all about mops and pails), and was chased off the stage by an irate landlady. And another was when Cinderella was being dressed by the Fairies. And still another was when Araminta and Dowsabella, the Ugly Sisters, danced so clumsily in their enormous shoes, and tripped everyone up in the Prince's ball-room. And, of course, if you wanted to, you could always, so to speak, make a smile merely by smiling at them yourself! So that, after all, it was really quite superfluous to ask what they liked best, for the obvious reason that they liked everything. And we who were grown up enjoyed it all so much ourselves that the best advice we can give our readers is to collect as many children as possible and take them forthwith to see "that lady"—as our two, in rather awed tones, called Miss Margaret Morris—and her dancing children in the wonderfully pretty entertainment, which is arranged specially for little people, and which is now taking place every afternoon at the Court Theatre at 2.45. There are three plays, "Monday's Child," by Dora Bright; "Old People Young Again," by Halcott Glover; and "Cinderella," in all of which there are dances by Miss Margaret Morris or her dancing children, who also do a special selection of these between the plays.

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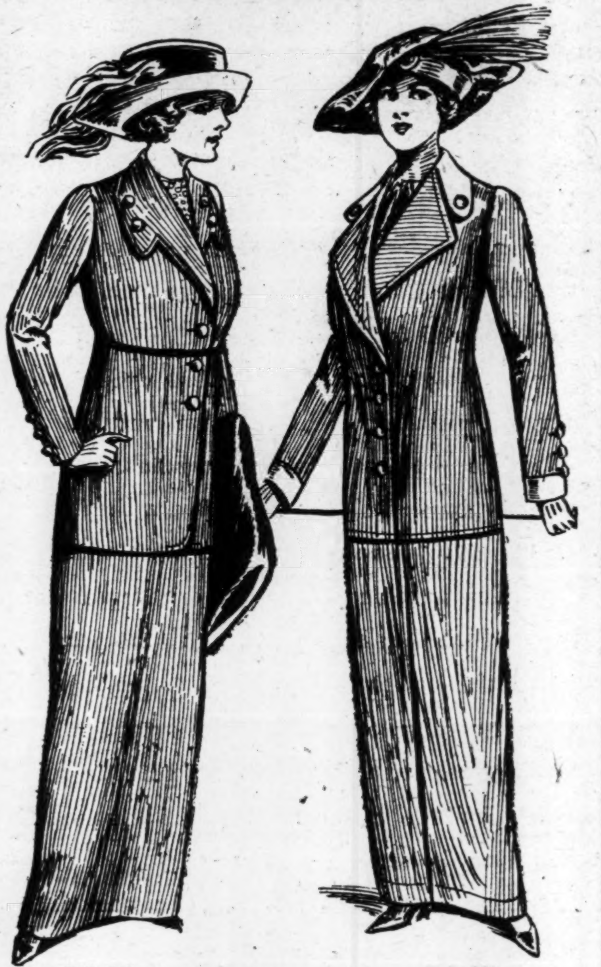

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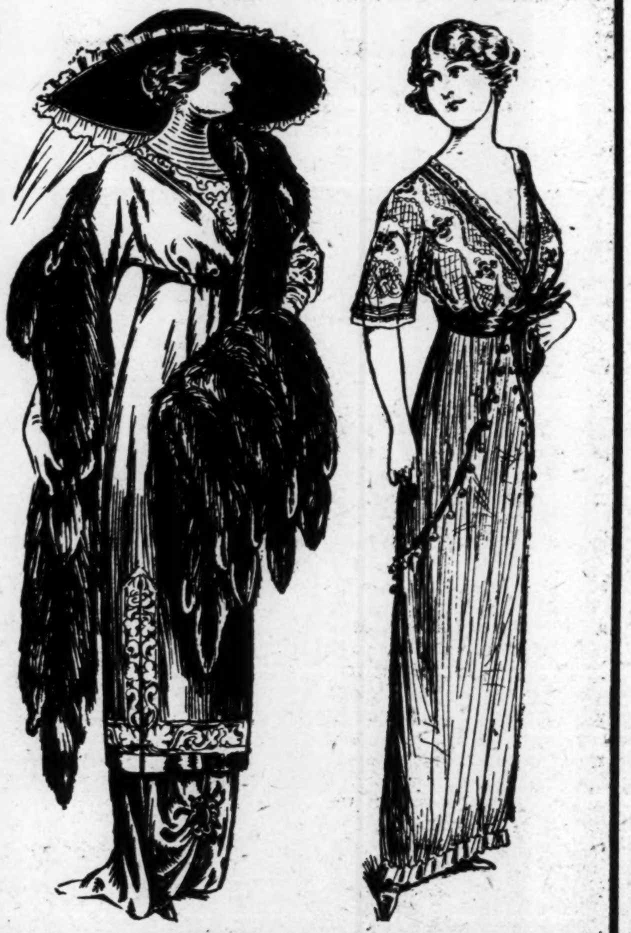

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FOR GIRLS AND BOYS

In the days of the reviewer's youth "From Pole to Pole"* would have been called a book for boys; it is, however, significant of the times that it is dedicated to "young people." An abridged translation of the famous Swedish traveller's work, "Frau Poll till Poll," the story literally carries us all over the world, sometimes by means of personal accounts of the author's own travels, and sometimes by vivid descriptions of the lives and work of such heroes as Livingstone and Gordon The old in years but young in heart will find it as difficult to tear themselves away from this book as the "young people" themselves. Girls reading the wonderful descriptions of things accomplished by men like Nansen and Dr. Sven Hedin may well rejoice to think that the world of adventure is in these days by no means closed to them, and perhaps amongst those who will read these fascinating pages are the Mrs. Bullock Workmans and the Miss Annie Pecks of the next generation.

A School Story

So fresh and healthy a story as "The Right Sort"† deserves a hearty welcome, and although its plot is concerned mainly with scores at cricket and the rivalries of various "Houses" and schools, we can recommend it to anyone who is tired of the ordinary novel based on sentimental interests. We have, however, our doubts as to the claim of the story to its English setting, for there are somewhat frequent Americanisms scattered throughout its pages. We question, moreover, whether a sixth form "man," punctilious on all points of personal honour as Templeton was, would deliberately disobey a cardinal rule of the school, known to carry with it the punishment of expulsion, without a qualm. It leads us to ask whether it is a fact that public school ethics relate only to standing well with one's fellows, and that deceit towards those in authority does not count? If so, a curious light is thrown on the moral equipment of some of our public men, for Acton School, situated half-way between London and Birmingham, is thinly disguised. It is a pity, too, that the author, who evidently means us to admire the rather slangy Evelyn Dale, should have allowed her to read a letter which was obviously not addressed to her; one does not "almost unconsciously" do such things, and it seems a pity to put her conduct on a level with that of the caddish Stafford. One more criticism: Why the following comparison?

> One never knows for a certainty what a junior will do. To-day he will behave in a quiet, dignified, and eminently respectable manner, and to-morrow he will be more like a militant suffragette than anything else.

The illustrator, by the way, did not read the story so carefully as we have done; Winsey would not go downstairs at midnight for his "Pontefract Dates" fully dressed, and Evelyn, having finished her time at a large and up-to-date school, would have "put her hair up"

Fairy Stories

The Fairyland of these stories‡ is not the old one of folk-lore, fairy, or animal tales. They are pretty fancies woven about bird, insect, or plant life, most of them based upon real happenings in the world of nature, their laudable aim being to interest the child-mind in these things and lead it to desire knowledge, not to instruct it in a dry routine. The growth of plant and seed, the mutual help of insects and plants are all very fascinating subjects for stories which are perhaps most successful when they keep most closely to reality. Originally these tales were told to a kindergarten class, and we can quite believe that the children delighted in them. The ideal conditions of listening to them would be out in fields and woods, certainly with flowers and leaves to illustrate the points. (In the absence of these the book is illustrated in colour by Ruth Sypherd Clements.) The author has produced a quite desirable gift for a child, though it would be still better with a slightly stronger treatment.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Frances Willard. Her Life and Work." By Ray Strachey. (London: T. Fisher Unwin. Price 5s. net.)

"The Tyranny of the Country Side." By F. E. Green. (London: Fisher Unwin. Price 5s. net.)

"Terry the Girl Guide." By Dorothea Moore. (London: James Nisbet. Price 3s. 6d.)

"Schoolgirl Honour." By Kathlyn Rhodes. (London: James Nisbet. Price 3s. 6d.)

"The White Slaves of London." By W. N. Willis. (London: Stanley Paul and Co. Price 1s. net.)

"The Westminster Review." (London: Marlborough and Co. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"The Englishwoman." January. (London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price 1s. net.)

"The Cruelty Man." Experiences of an Inspector of the N.S.P.C.C. (Price 1s.)

"Maimed or Whole." By Robert J. Parr. (N.S.P.C.C., 39, Leicester Square, W.C. 3d. net.)

"The Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Review." (48, Dover Street, W. Price 2d.)

"The Dial." January. (London: Mowbray. Price 3d. Monthly.)

"Why We Demand Woman Suffrage." By A. De Morsier. (New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage. Price 2d.)

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* "From Pole to Pole." By Sven Hedin. Macmillan & Co, Price 7s. 6d. net.

† "The Right Sort." By Leslie Havergal Bradshaw. Illustrated by Tom Peddie. (London: A. and C. Black. Price 3s. 6d.)

‡ "Overheard in Fairyland; or, the Peter Pan Tales." By Madge A. Bigham. (Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

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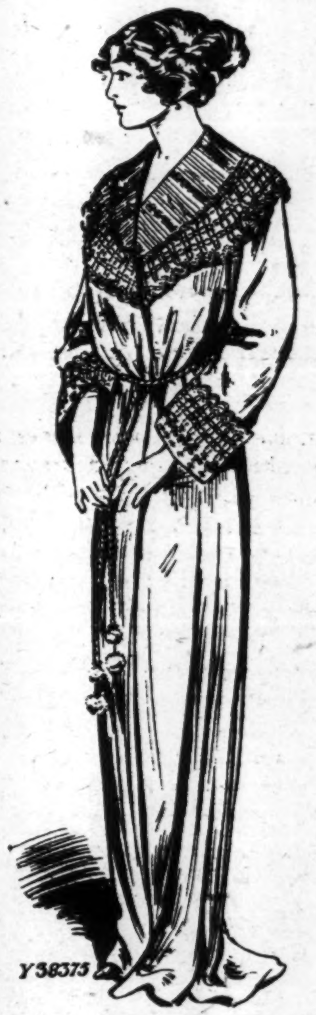

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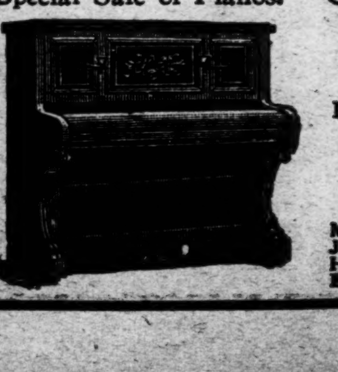

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WILL WOMEN UNITE?

In a short time the Franchise Bill will go into Committee in the House of Commons and the Woman Suffrage amendments will be under discussion. Whatever may be thought of the prospects of success of any of these, it is clear that the occasion will be one when Woman Suffrage will be brought into special prominence throughout the country, and when clear thinking and right acting are more than ordinarily necessary for advocates of the cause.

Hitherto it has been customary to speak of a single line of cleavage in the Suffrage ranks, and to divide Suffragists throughout the country into two main groups—militant and non-militant. It is now becoming increasingly evident that this division is inadequate, and that there is in reality a double, and not merely a single, main line of cleavage; there is, in fact, a division as to policy quite as sharply defined as that as to method, and these two divisions are to-day by no means identical.

The distinction as to method has long been recognised; it is the distinction between those who are and those who are not prepared either themselves to act contrary to the law or to encourage and support others who are doing so. The distinction as to policy is between those who recognise that the fount of all legislation is the Government of the day and who are prepared actively to oppose the Government until it is willing to see women enfranchised, and those who are content to accept the excuses for inaction put forward by the Government and to work patiently along the line of an offer made to them in the hope that a successful issue may eventuate.

Prior to the day when the Conciliation Bill was "torpedoed," Suffragists of all kinds were prepared to give the second method a trial, especially as a pledge which appeared absolutely water-tight had been given by the Prime Minister himself; but when by a turn of the political machine that pledge was rendered practically valueless a large number of Suffragists, including militants and non-militants, determined not to be "had" in the same way a second time. Once bitten they were twice shy. They examined the "great opportunity" said to be provided by the Franchise Bill, and found it lacking in the essentials of success; and accordingly in their various ways they carried on campaigns against the Government. On the other hand, a large body of Suffragists took the view that the opportunity was a real one, and that the Franchise Bill, with its possibility of amendment so as to include women, was a real boon. This body included not merely the principal non-militant society and the Women's Freedom League, but also a man who had up to that time done yeoman service for the cause, and a great Liberal newspaper, owned and edited by a man known to be high-principled and independent.

For the past fourteen months the question has been argued from every possible standpoint; the time is very speedily coming when prophecies will be put to the test of fact. It will then be "up to" all those who have urged upon women patience and trust in the Liberal Government to prove that their confidence was well founded.

Suppose they fail. Suppose that one of the innumerable pitfalls which we have watched being dug for the Woman Suffrage amendment should in the event prove fatal to it—what are they going to do then? We have not the smallest wish to see them eating humble pie, expressing regret for the attitude which they have taken up in the past. They will be quite entitled to argue that the experiment was worth trying even though it proved a failure. What we do want is that they should adopt a different attitude in the future. At least let them, twice bitten, be thrice shy.

If by some cunningly devised plot women do not secure the franchise by means of the Government's Electoral Reform Bill, we hope that Suffragists of every persuasion will unite in demanding a Government measure for Woman Suffrage, and will refuse to accept or even consider any suggestion falling short of this. For it will surely then be clear to everyone that no pledge of impartiality, however apparently binding, is strong enough to prevent the Government from riding off on some subterfuge and continuing to block the enfranchisement of women. Failing a definite Government measure, we appeal to all Suffragists to adopt a frankly anti-Government policy and to use every possible means for bringing about the fall of the Government.

In making this appeal to Suffragists to adopt a common policy, it must be clearly understood that we are not appealing for organic unity, which we fully recognise to be an impossible dream. Differences of constitution, differences of personality, and differences of method inevitably and perhaps advantageously keep Suffragists divided into many distinct and even rival societies. But all these societies have a common aim—the equalisation of the franchise laws for men and women—and there is no reason why they should not adopt also a common basis for their policy.

If this be done we shall not in the future be confronted, as we have often been in the past, with the lamentable spectacle of Suffrage societies working politically in direct opposition to one another, not merely cancelling one another's work, but introducing an element of weakness and uncertainty which has been damaging in every way to the furtherance of the cause they all have at heart.

But more important than this, the allied armies of the Suffrage societies, by declaring war upon the Government unless their straightforward demand is conceded, will form a powerful incentive to politicians to grant a measure of justice which they might otherwise be tempted to withhold.

MASCULINE GOOD SENSE

By Joseph Clayton

"The battle of freedom is never done and the field never quiet." And through the centuries the women on this field have always been opposed by forces summoned to resist in the name of "masculine good sense."

In the nineteenth century, when the women's battle of freedom was mainly for education, for admission to the medical profession, and for release of prostitutes in our garrison towns from State recognition and regulation, it was in each and every case the voice of "masculine good sense" that delayed the advance.

To-day, when we are still in the thick of the fight for political enfranchisement, over the last ditch of the Anti-Suffragists waves the banner with the strange device—"masculine good sense"; and the pretentious insolence of the device is only matched by the folly that cannot learn from experience how entirely misguiding and misguided is this notion of masculine restriction on the liberty of women.

As even in the twentieth century certain types of masculine intelligence would deny political, and in some cases economic, liberty to women, so in earlier centuries liberty of conscience for women outraged the susceptibilities of the more ardent male, and had to be taken by storm.

Far back at the beginning of the thirteenth century, seven hundred years ago—Anno Domini 1212, to be quite exact—the Lady Clare at Assisi had to fight and win her battle of liberty of conscience in the teeth of "masculine good sense." Clare was not yet eighteen when the call came to her to leave home and riches and follow the gleam. She was of an age to marry; her father urged the claims of her family and the duty of strengthening the family's position by the right sort of marriage. Alas! for a father's hopes, Clare had quite other plans for her life than marrying either for her own or for the family's sake, "and when the Lady Clare made up her mind, her heart was with her mind; and her heart was strong."

We see her, Clare, at the age of eighteen, in the early spring of 1212—strong indeed of heart and mind. In the feudal household, where her girlhood passed, she had learnt of what was passing in the world of politics and religion from intercourse with many "keenly alive to the various topics of that stimulating age." Never could she be satisfied with "weak compromises in a matter of duty, but neither would she fuss over details of conduct which were not of the essence of some vital principle."[*]

"Even the male folk of her family, hard-beaten soldiers bred of a line which had maintained itself and its possessions by the sword and brooked not readily any opposition to its claims—even these stood in some awe of this strong-willed daughter of their house."

But to break away from all the traditions of her rank and family, to become a mendicant nun, this was more than her family would stand; Clare was quite aware of that. Possibly she might have been allowed to enter one of those established convents "which were, in some sort, appanages of noble families, and in a dignified fashion secured the patronage of heaven for the families whose daughters were consecrated within their walls." But then Clare had no calling for such convent life. For her, as for St. Francis, it must be all or nothing, and she, too, would embrace poverty, as utterly and completely as the Poor Man of Assisi, and leave to the world her Company of Poor Ladies.

Her early consultations with Francis had to take place unknown to her kinsfolk. "It was not the occasion for nice hesitations. If one must needs seize one's liberty by violence, the blame is to those who make the violence necessary. Nor would her people themselves have acted otherwise had it been a matter of their secular interest: it was the tradition of every feudal household. And Clare, in this supreme moment of her own fortune, acted as her father's daughter. She took her decision into her own hands" (Father Cuthbertson, O.S F.C.).

On the night of Palm Sunday, Clare, with one companion, an aunt who stood by her through thick and thin, left her father's house for the life she had chosen. She went out by a disused postern gate, and the gateway was blocked by huge stones piled between the posts, which all had to be cleared away by the hands of the fugitives. The house of the Franciscans was reached at midnight, and at daybreak Clare found shelter in a Benedictine convent at Bastia. To this convent next day came some of Clare's kinsfolk, clamouring and threatening. Clare, with her hands on the altar, proclaimed the choice she had made, and her consecration to religion, and something in her strength quieted their rage, for they went away and left her to her calling.

A fortnight later, and Agnes, the younger sister of Clare, also fled her father's house and came to Clare's convent. And now twelve kinsmen came in hot pursuit, for Agnes was but fifteen, and it was monstrous to masculine good sense that this young girl should order her own life in defiance of those who would have her suitably married.

At first these twelve sensible kinsmen tried persuasion, but when this failed they seized Agnes by the hair and dragged her by sheer force from the altar into the open air. "Above the din of their imprecations, the voice of Agnes called to Clare to come and save her. Clare, in the first moment of their violence had cast herself prostrate before the altar, praying God to give her sister courage and to save her. Then, with a renewed trust, she rose up and hurried to her sister's rescue.

"She overtook them a little way down the mountain side. Agnes lay helpless on the ground; for suddenly—whether it was that their fury had enfeebled them or whatever the cause—these stout men found their burden too heavy for their strength, and with a curse had flung her to the ground. One of them would have struck her in his rage; but just then Clare appeared in their midst and demanded that they cease their violence and leave her sister to her care.

"And once again that strange power which Clare had to subdue people to her will, sent these men clamouring away."

Clare returned to the convent with Agnes, and until death, thirty-seven years later, these two laboured in the calling they had chosen, and built up many communities of Poor Ladies, and kept aflame the fire of Franciscan zeal for holy poverty in religion. Thus they—Clare and Agnes—fought and won the battle for liberty of conscience 700 years ago, heedless of the masculine claim to order a woman's life.

It would seem that the passion for liberty is a passion for liberty to serve. To St. Clare liberty of conscience is seen as the liberty to serve God in a life of poverty. The quest of political liberty is seen as the demand to serve the State, of economic liberty the demand to serve one's neighbours in return for income.

And since seeking freedom women are seeking wider fields of service, this "masculine good sense" is the least trustworthy of obstructive counsellors. For over and over again this "sense" has hindered human development, and its utterances are now an impertinence. The male person—whether rowdy shop-boy or dull-sighted Cabinet Minister—who still talks definitively of the limits of women's liberty has got to understand that with this absurdly barbaric jargon he's just making a fool of himself.

The courage of St. Clare, and of all those women who through the ages have defied and beaten the authority of the male, has wrought immensely in the progress to decency and human civilisation. It is a quality the world is not likely to have too much of or can esteem too highly.

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[*] See Mrs. Balfour's "Life and Legend of the Lady Saint Clare," and Father Cuthbertson's "Life of St. Francis of Assisi."

A HUMAN TRAGEDY

"The Private Life of Henry Maitland"[*]

"George Gissing, a Critical Study"[†]

These two books deal with the same man under different names. And, on the face of it, that which presents itself under the guise of fiction is the more truthful of the two—more truthful, at least, in the sense that it does not set out to conceal things. Here is a passage from the biographical section of the volume devoted ostensibly to truth: "The occasion of Gissing's withdrawal from Owen's [College], and the breaking of that succession of educational achievements, was the earliest result of his incorrigibly amorous inclination which led him subsequently into great difficulties. A connection formed in Manchester was followed by a marriage which was in every way unsuitable, and which was very seriously to add to his later embarrassments." Who would suppose in reading it that this biographical statement covers a charge of theft and a term of imprisonment? With so important an item left out, can anything truly biographical be written concerning the man on whose life that concealed event had so marring and shattering an effect?

Considerable criticism has been aroused by Mr. Morley Roberts's uncompromising presentation of the true facts. "Can this," it is asked, "be reckoned the act of a friend?" Now, when a biography is written, it means, or it should mean, that a man is worth knowing; it means also, in the majority of cases, that he is worth making friends with; and for that end his biographer hands him over to posterity. But if we cannot present a true portrait to posterity, better that the biography should not be written, or that its publication should be delayed until those whom it may personally distress are out of harm's way. In this instance, where no personal sensibilities are involved, the objection arises entirely from a moral snobbery which is ever bent on setting up unreal distinctions in the psychological study of mankind. Society is still very reluctant to expound human nature truthfully, since one result of such a course is a condemnation of our existing system of criminology and of our legal and social remedies for the ills it exposes to view. Probably we all know, in our own private connection, people of high social worth and intelligence who have been guilty of acts incredibly mean, criminal, or foul. Within the family we mete out to such cases a totally different measure to that prescribed by social convention—we do our very best, in fact, to protect such cases from the social treatment which is directed with our consent against outsiders. The skeletons of such facts lie hidden in thousands of family cupboards to-day, and surely that circumstance is either a condemnation of our social or of our domestic system; perhaps a little bit of both. One of its worst products is that it makes us publicly hypocritical about human nature.

Merely from the sociological point of view, therefore, it is valuable to have the private life of "Henry Maitland" as here presented for our learning. Here was a man of fine brain and temperament—one even in his early youth of high scholastic achievement, suddenly cast adrift and subjected to a lifelong depreciation of his true values owing to lack of balance in one particular relation. How pathetic, how fatuous is the story! Attracted by a woman of the streets, and wishing to reclaim her to more decent ways of life, he first presents her with a sewing-machine, and, when that solution of the social problem fails, steals the overcoats and books of his fellow-students to provide her with maintenance! After paying the legal penalty thus incurred he marries her, and from the ghastly tragedy of that experiment passes to a second, which is even worse. And during the life thus marred and confounded by his own utter lack of "savoir faire"—to put it no higher—in matters sexual, he writes for our instruction book after book dealing with the relations of men and women, books deeply in earnest, thoughtful, and illuminating. And here is a strange point to notice; but for his social catastrophe he would in all probability have lived the life of a scholar, devoting himself, as a don at one of our Universities, to a fastidious appreciation of literature and the classics. Misfortune threw him upon life; having become its victim he made it his subject; and we cannot dissociate the value and high repute of Gissing's work from the waste and disrepute into which he fell. These things together make up his life.

On the literary side Mr. Swinnerton's study is more soundly instructive than on the biographical; and some of his critical appreciations of his subject are distinctly good and to the point, as when, for instance, in discussing Gissing's defects of humour, he says that his comic studies of life "demand that we should laugh contemptuously," and that his own laughter at the follies of men was "from the throat rather than the midriff." "Gissing," he writes, "had quite enough humour to be a good and genial friend and companion; but his humour was not strong enough to bear the test of print. . . . In humour, as in pathos, any lack of spontaneity creates a feeling of intolerable confusion; and while Gissing's pathos is almost always written from the heart, his laughter is never the rich merriment of a happy man." Why happiness was impossible for Gissing this "critical study" scarcely attempts to show. "The Private Life of Henry Maitland" does; not until we read it is the writer's work really explained.

L. H.

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[*] "The Private Life of Henry Maitland." A record dictated by J. H. Revised and edited by Morley Roberts. (London: Eveleigh Nash. 1912.) 6s.

[†] "George Gissing: A Critical Study." By Frank Swinnerton. (London: Martin Secker. 1912.) 7s. 6d.

SUFFRAGISTS IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Thursday, January 2, was set aside by Suffragists as a day of prayer in Westminster Abbey. All day long, from nine o'clock until the close of evensong, militant and non-militant Suffragists, wearing their different badges, were to be seen going in and out of the Abbey; they included among them women officers of the Salvation Army. They congregated particularly in the little Chapel of St. Faith; and we are indebted to the author of "Eager Heart" (Miss A. M. Buckton) for her impression of the day's intercession, which she has written specially for VOTES FOR WOMEN.

A DAY OF PRAYER,

By A. M. Buckton.

A woman behind bars? And in a chapel? Or was it an illusion caused by the joinings of the stone seen through the faded fresco?

In a vaulted, irregular little chapel, lying wedged between the venerable Chapter house and the south transept of Westminster Abbey, women and men knelt in constantly changing groups, from early morning till the evening of Thursday, January 2.

It would be vain to attempt to put into form the different ideas and hopes of those gathered there, by one common impulse, seeking for clearer vision on a troubled path, and for wisdom and faithfulness to achieve.

The quiet place, with its few lights casting shadows up into the groining of the thirteenth century roof, has become of late years a frequent resort of those who seek "apartness" in that building too much identified with the secular interest of the tourist. If I remember rightly, the chapel was rediscovered and thrown open, after some hundred years' neglect, at the time of the burial of the last great laureate, whose body lay there in the moonlight, the night before its sepulture within the walls of the Abbey church. This was in October, 1892, a significant date from many points of view.

The official guide speaks of "the so-called chapel of St. Faith," but no one knows its real name. I have heard it called, more than once, and by a well-known dignitary of the Church, the Chapel of St. Bride.

Whatever its past history, it is devoted, beyond doubt, to woman, to the Divine Power manifesting itself through the faith and suffering of Womanhood. By the least susceptible of wanderers crossing its threshold it is felt to be the scene of past vigils, of passionate longings for purification, and renewal of strength. A curious hush pervades the place, arresting the casual talker and the careless child. Lighted by a small west window only, the dark painting on its eastern wall scarcely seen in the gloom, the idea at once obtrudes itself that the little place became a chapel as an afterthought, and had no such honour in the original structure of the Abbey. Yet, by some "divine coincidence" the situation is perfect for the present need. On the south side, within the left arm of the great cross on which the church is built, that is to say, in the "Woman's Quarter," this chapel has found its place, between the outer walls of this unique (and in some ways greatest) Abbey foundation in Christendom, and the first People's Parliament that saw a meeting of the Commons! Unnoticed and unperceived, the woman's spiritual power conjoins these two bodies. Has this no significance for us, who are students of history? Has it no significance for us, looking to a future whose near blossom and fruit will be the perfect outcome of the preparation of a long past?

This nameless Chapel of the Woman, lying between Church and State, and having no official place in either, was used, we are told, as a "passage-room." It is well! Has she not served from the foundation of the world as a link between heavenly and earthly things?

The chapel, we learn also, was used as a "vestry" and as a "re-vestry." Good again! Has she not of her own substance "clothed" the children of men, and in their hour of self-dedication "re-clothed" them, sending them to the battle bearing her vision, to return again and again for sympathy and comfort, and in the day of victory for crowning at her hand? It is woman who sets the ultimate values of the world. From her nameless place she invests things with their true name. Will she always go unrecognised? The voice of change and progress answers—No. Let us pray that she keep her power in the light of the larger day that calls her to take her place in the open sight of the world. She has been prepared through the ages for her own work. To the Voice of Annunciation she will still reply, "Behold the handmaid of the Lord," and that dim figure on the chapel wall is witness that she will not fail. Supported by the supreme Image of Consecration and Sacrifice, a dark and almost obliterated picture of the Crucifixion, upon which her feet are raised, she stands with upward look, listening and obedient. One bare foot beneath her robe is seen ready to advance; the hands, scarcely distinguishable, appear to hang a little before her, patient, expectant, eager to obey. Some have seen a sword in her hand, the sword of martyrdom. Martyrdom is suggested by the whole figure, in the rigid lines of the dark robe, and the crimson of the background. There is something weird and tense in the tall, angular form, with the shadowy face, across which, at some times of day, a gleam of light seems to pass. It is obvious, even to the casual observer, that the painting is the work of an unskilled hand. It has been suggested that it was done by the little penitent monk (insignificant, yet how significant!) who has portrayed himself, kneeling in adoration, outside the edge of the picture, his intense desire for purification expressed in the scarcely legible words:

Me, quem culpa gravis premit, erige
Virgo suavis;
Fac mihi placatum Christum, deleasque reatum.

"Me, who have grievously offended,
sweet Virgin deliver!
Make my peace with Christ: blot out
my sin."

Was this the work of the monk's free hours? Was he here allowed to depict the story of his heart, and in the sea-wave pattern round the arch, and in the strangely moving figure of the woman, shadow forth the eternal story of the redemptive power of the Virgin in all womanhood—the Virgin, who is the Mother of the World? Here, every morning, before her altar, standing on the semi-circular stone (probably far more ancient than the tiling of the floor), the priest at sunrise offers the holy Elements; and still the monk kneels and prays. . . . A shaft of light, caused doubtless by some fault in the wall, seems to pass down to him from the right side of that dim figure, as if in blessing and power. For all his limitations he represents our best—that truthful, quiet, self-knowing, willing manhood, not too proud to serve, and not too proud to worship, though that which bring him light be but in the form of a woman.

But this figure! Is she indeed painted behind bars, which, through their great age, are becoming luminous? Or is it an illusion caused by the ancient joinings of the stones?

Through the morning air the clear words of the Psalms rose within the Abbey hard by:

"O thou adversary, destructions are come to a perpetual end! The Lord is in his holy temple.
He hath prepared his seat for judgment. He shall judge the world in righteousness! Thou, Lord, hast never failed them that seek Thee."

And at evensong the voice of the Magnificat was heard:

"My soul doth magnify the Lord, for He hath regarded the lowliness of his handmaiden! Behold, from henceforth, all generations shall call me blessed."

And so they knelt, unknown to each other, men and women of different ranks, equal in the sight of God, men and women who had not thought it waste of time to withdraw a while into the Silence, to gather clearer vision and fuller purpose for the coming days.

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THE AGITATION THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

Miss May Billinghurst, Miss Grace Mitchell, and Miss Louisa Gay were before the Recorder at the Old Bailey on Wednesday last, on a charge of unlawfully placing in letter-boxes a certain deleterious fluid. All pleaded not guilty, and defended themselves. Miss Billinghurst, in the course of a statement, said that she acted as she did to fight for the liberation of women that they might take their part in the legislation of their country. Frightful instances of the White Slave Traffic were brought to her notice during visits to the slums, and these convinced her of the necessity which existed for women to have a voice in the government of the land. Although women had tried for many years to get the vote by peaceful means, it was not until "Christabel Pankhurst sounded the war-note of militancy and went to prison for her boldness that the public attention was arrested." So far as counsel for the prosecution was concerned, Miss Billinghurst added, he might take a message to the Postmaster-General to the effect that the only way to stop the attacks on the pillar-boxes would be to bring in a Government measure. Miss Mitchell identified herself with all Miss Billinghurst had said.

All three were found guilty, and a police officer said Miss Billinghurst had been previously convicted for offences committed during the Suffragist agitation. It was true that she had been engaged in rescue work.

The Recorder postponed sentence until Thursday.

By special order of the Recorder, no women were admitted to the court, and our representative, with other women reporters, was excluded from the Press table. The *Pall Mall Gazette* drew special attention to this matter, and announced a late evening edition with a placard: "Women Excluded from the Court."

PREMIER'S WINDOW BROKEN

A man named Frank Brailsford, a commercial traveller, of Canterbury Road, Brixton, was fined 40s. and 2s. 6d. as damage, or one month's hard labour, at Bow Street, on Friday, January 3, for breaking a window at the Prime Minister's residence, 10, Downing Street.

"It was purely a political offence," he told the magistrate, Mr. Curtis Bennett. "I did it because of Mr. Asquith's attitude with regard to votes for women. He and his confrères are about to concede the claims of a party who have practised intimidation, boycotting, cattle maiming, dynamiting, arson, and murder, but he declines to grant the claims of a party who have merely shattered a few windows and obliterated a few addresses on letters. The moral is that suffragists do not commit sufficient damage. Mr. Asquith strains at the suffragist gnat and swallows the Home Rule camel. I remember thirty years ago women agitated for votes in a ladylike, peaceful way, as they are asked to do now, and they got plenty of sympathy, but no votes. We are told that militancy alienates public sympathy, but Home Rulers were militant, and they are now getting their claims granted."

With regard to the damage Mr. Brailsford said it was a political offence, and that he did it deliberately.

FURTHER ATTACKS ON PILLAR-BOXES

Attacks on pillar-boxes in various parts of the country continue to be reported in the Press, and it is stated that an attempt was made to fire the contents of a box at Bradford (Heaton Road) on January 2. The *Yorkshire Observer* says:—

"The incident follows closely on a number of pillar-box outrages in various parts of Bradford, which occurred in the Christmas week, and were ascribed to a militant section of the suffragists. The previous outrages have been confined to the attempted defacement of the addresses of letters by the dropping of paint, ink, and similar substances into the boxes, and until last night no case of the firing of the contents of a letter-box in the city had been reported."

Fluid is reported to have been poured into letter-boxes at Kew (Maize Road and Priory Road), when about fifty letters were damaged, Putney (Briar Walk), and Upper Richmond Road, while it is said that the head post office at Putney was also attacked, and that in each case a number of letters were destroyed. It is reported that at Cardiff 200 letters were damaged, and that bottles containing fluid were wrapped in copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN and marked "Blame Asquith for this." Similar attacks are reported from Worthing, Preston, the City of London, St. John's Wood, Hampstead, and Wimbledon.

FORCIBLE FEEDING

No further news has been received of Miss Elsie Howey and Miss Kitty Marion, and the inference is that they are still being forcibly fed, as Miss Annie Kenney stated at the London Pavilion last Monday.

Mrs. Howey has sent to the Press the following letter, which she received on January 3 from Mr. Harris, of the Home Office:—

Home Office, Whitehall, S.W.,
1st January, 1913.

Madam,—I am desired by the Home Secretary to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday in regard to Miss Howey, and to say that he is informed that your daughter is in good health. I am to point out that if you are not satisfied with this information, it is open to you to obtain the release of your daughter from prison by paying the remaining portion of her fine, which amounts to about £15.—Yours faithfully,

"S. W. HARRIS."

Mrs. Howey makes the following comment:—

"Now, as everyone who has had friends or relations in prison knows quite well that the official formula 'Is in good health,' or 'Is in their usual health,' covers almost every case of illness up to death or insanity, the above letter amounts to an invitation to me to pay in order to receive truthful information; and I have been refused permission to send my daughter's own doctor to visit and report on her health.

"I should add that as my daughter had gone without food for at least ten days, and has since then been forcibly fed, it is an absolute impossibility that she should be 'in good health' except in the official sense. I think it is high time that the public should realise how widely official language differs from ordinary English."

M.P.U. MEMBER RELEASED

Mr. Mulligan, the M.P.U. member who told the Glasgow Sheriff's Court last week that he preferred ten days' imprisonment to paying a fine of £1 for plastering a Great Western Road pillar-box with a demand for votes for women, was released from Duke Street Prison the same evening, someone having paid the fine.

SCOTTISH PRISON TREATMENT

In the House of Commons on Tuesday, January 7, Mr. Wilkie asked the Secretary for Scotland whether he was aware that in the Aberdeen police cells women prisoners, under arrest but unconvicted, were required to sleep on plank beds, and that in the same place women prisoners, although not allowed out of their cells for any purpose throughout the night, were under constant surveillance by male warders, these warders frequently making use of the spy-hole in the door and also coming into the women's cells at frequent intervals during the night; and whether he would take steps to have women prisoners under such circumstances placed under the surveillance of female warders?

Mr. McKinnon Wood: I am informed that wooden beds are as a rule provided for prisoners under detention in the Aberdeen police cells, but that in the cases to which my hon. friend presumably refers the prisoners were allowed the use of blankets or rugs. It is not the case that they were under constant observation by male warders. A female attendant is in charge of the female block of cells, and all the cells are under the supervision of the male superintendent. In the course of the night to which the question seems to refer, the superintendent paid two visits of inspection to the cells, the female attendant being on duty close by on both occasions. Such visits, I understand, are in the ordinary routine; but I propose to make further inquiry into their necessity.

In this connection the following letter from Miss Mary Humphreys, one of the Suffragists recently imprisoned at Aberdeen in connection with Mr. Lloyd George's visit there, which appeared in the *Scotsman*, is of interest:—

"The recent practice of the police in Scotland," she says, "is to refuse bail, and to confine the suffragettes for the night in 'drunk cells' (there is no other accommodation). Before being taken to these cells they are searched, and everything is taken from them, even pencils. In these cells there is for bed a sloping board and a wooden pillow, no bedding. The light is left on all night, and male warders wander in and out at will. If the suffragette has succumbed to fatigue and fallen asleep, she is roughly awakened by a shake. One of the warders explained that he was in the habit of doing this because drunk people sometimes took fits. Now, according to Prison Rules (Scotland) it is unlawful to punish a female convicted prisoner by giving her a wooden bed to sleep on; and by another rule, 'Female officers shall in all cases attend female prisoners.' Have the police, then, licence to treat untried prisoners as they choose? This is a serious matter, not only for suffragettes, but for others. Paying police rates, and having been subjected myself to this treatment, I vigorously protest, and ask other fair-minded ratepayers to do likewise."

THE ACTRESSES' MEMORIAL

We published in our issue of December 27 a copy of a Memorial sent by Mrs. Forbes Robertson and Miss Adeline Bourne, President and Hon. Sec. of the Actresses' Franchise League, to the Speaker of the House of Commons and the members of His Majesty's Government, asking to be allowed to plead the cause of Women's Enfranchisement at the Bar of the House. To this request merely formal acknowledgments were received. A second letter has accordingly now been sent to the Prime Minister and the Speaker, of which the following is a copy:—

Sir,—We have received an acknowledgment of, but no reply to our request of December 19, to be allowed to come before the Bar of the House of Commons. The situation is daily becoming more urgent and critical. We feel our great Cause is being trifled with, and the happenings in Parliament during the last five years on the subject have not inspired us with confidence.

Though a Constitutional body of women, who desire to remain so, we yet feel it to be a great wrong to women and prejudicial to the sex that they should be goaded into unconstitutional methods because the Government will not give effect to the considered judgments of the House of 1908, 1910, and 1911, when our Bills passed by large majorities.

Every man has his Party machinery, and every Party is reflected in its own Party press, thus, every man, through Party representation, possesses an outlet for his grievances, both inside and outside the House of the People. Since, however, all these privileges are denied to the women of the People, who have not even common rights, the Actresses claim to come before the Commons and lay the case before them. They ask no more than was granted to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, who was admitted to the Bar of the House on May 12, 1910, to lay the views of the Dublin Corporation on Woman's Suffrage before Parliament; and the Actresses claim an even greater right to do so, because every other channel has been closed to them, and because it is a woman's question which only women can adequately explain.

They feel quite sure that no democratic Government would wish to bar their way or block the progress and happiness of British women in the evolution of the country, and they therefore respectfully beg for an answer from the Speaker of the Commons and the Prime Minister of the Government, to their request.—Yours obediently,

GERTRUDE FORBES ROBERTSON, President.
ADELINE BOURNE, Hon. Secretary.

TAX RESISTANCE

The Women's Tax Resistance League and the Women's Freedom League are resisting the Insurance Act on behalf of their respective office staffs.

Faint, Yet Pursuing

At present *Modern Man* is alone in urging that confirmed Suffragette offenders against property and person be expatriated; but if public opinion overtakes us it will not be the first time we shall have led the way.—**Modern Man.**

Unfortunately we cannot have invisible pillar-boxes; our letters must always be at the mercy of persons who think that, by destroying them, they will gain our friendship. But once wireless telegraph and telephone instruments are installed, we can laugh at wire-cutters. . . . Yet think of a portable wireless telephone, rendering us accessible to friends and relatives every minute of the twenty-four hours! On the whole, we prefer the old kind of telephone, with wires that can be cut. And who are we to grumble if Suffragists isolate our home? There are times when their attentions would not be altogether unwelcome. —**Evening Standard.**

Scotland Yard has been concerned to secure the protection of our visitors (the Peace Delegates) when moving about the streets of London, and with the demand that is made nowadays on account of the suffragists for the security of Ministers and the defence of buildings, rather a strain is put upon their resources.— **Nottingham Guardian.**

COMING EVENTS

It was announced at the London Pavilion on Monday last that arrangements are proceeding for Mrs. Drummond's deputation of Working Women, in preparation for which a special campaign is being carried out, to march to the House of Commons. We understand that the members of the deputation will come from Scotland and Wales as well as from London and the English provincial towns, and it is confidently expected that they will be received. This occasion, Mrs. Drummond pointed out in the course of an interview with a Press representative, will afford the Prime Minister and Mr. Lloyd George an opportunity of shewing that their professed democratic principles are no mere idle boast, for it will be a thoroughly democratic deputation, consisting of factory and mill women, sweated women, under-paid women of all kinds, and the wives of working men.

Mrs. Drummond added:—

"It has been suggested in some quarters that women should hold aloof from the movement, as it is certain to end in a fight with the police. I do not see any grounds for such a statement, seeing that we have the Bill of Rights behind us. Provincial Suffragists can only approach Parliament in the ordinary course by petition or resolution, and that is why they are coming up to London in large numbers on this occasion —they want to see Ministers and express their views. It would be quite a simple matter to admit us to Westminster Hall, to the number of 200 or 300, as the Welsh women's deputation was admitted not long ago, where Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George could listen to the views of our spokeswomen."

The Women's Freedom League, taking the view that Saturday, January 18, affords the last opportunity of making an emphatic and constitutional demand for women to be included in the Bill, will hold a demonstration in Trafalgar Square at 2.30 on that day. They are inviting other Suffrage societies to join. During the following week the W.F.L. will organise daily parades round the House of Commons from 2 o'clock to 5. They are also arranging a public meeting, to take place in Westminster, to discuss the debate on the Amendments, and in the event of none being passed, the future policy will be declared (1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.).

During the debate on the Franchise Reform Bill the Actresses' Franchise League will picket the House of Commons. Members of other societies who are able to join in this special demonstration are invited to communicate with the League (2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.), and to say what time they can give.

Mr. H. D. Harben, whose resignation of the candidature for the Barnstaple Division as a protest against forcible feeding is well remembered by all suffragists, has recently become Hon. Treasurer of the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, and members and friends of the Society are cordially invited to attend a reception which will be held in the Ballroom of the Knightsbridge Palace Hotel (opposite Hyde Park Barracks) on Wednesday, January 15, at 8.15 p.m., to meet Mr. and Mrs. Harben. Invitation cards can be obtained at the office (13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.).

We have been asked to announce that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be in Ireland at the end of this month, when she will speak in Dublin, Drogheda, and Belfast.

The Hon. Secretary of the Forward Cymric Suffrage Union for Men and Women makes an appeal to members to send to her for handbills, in order that they may make known to the Welsh people in London that meetings are held monthly. The next meeting will be at Alan's Tea Rooms on February 3, when the speaker will be Mr. George Lansbury.—(Address: Mrs. M. E. Davies, Hon. Secretary, 53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, Fulham, S.W.)

Until the release of Miss Elsie Howey and Miss Kitty Marion, demonstrations outside Holloway Prison will continue to be held each evening. To-morrow (Saturday) a procession is announced to start from Kingsway at 2.30, and to march with bands to Holloway, where a demonstration will be held.

A new play by Miss Cicely Hamilton is an event of interest to all Suffragists. We learn that at the next performance of the Pioneer Players on Sunday, February 2, at King's Hall, Covent Garden, Miss Edith Craig will produce Miss Hamilton's "A Matter of Money." The play is in three acts, and was played under another name at the Repertory Theatre in Glasgow. The cast will include, among others, Inez Bensusan, May Whitty, Ethel Warwick, Ben Webster, Rosamund Belmore (aged eleven years), Eric Albury, Edmond Breon, Angela Colenzo, Ivan Firth, Agnes Imlay, Elaine Sleddall, and Ernest Thesiger.

"A GIRDLE ROUND ABOUT THE EARTH"

In France

French feminists have for some time declared that women have as much right as men to stand for the Presidency of the Republic; and now a candidate has come forward to test the point. Mlle. Marie Denizard, who is, of course, a Suffragist, was a candidate at the last general election for the Chamber of Deputies, when she stood for all the divisions in her native department of the Somme; and, as the Paris correspondent of the *Daily News* says, "if she polls but one vote at Versailles on the 17th inst. she will have done as well as M. Grévy did at the first time of asking, and as well as such notabilities as the Duc d'Aumale, General de Galliffet, Henri Rochefort, and M. Combes did."

To an interviewer, Mlle. Denizard is reported to have said that she cherished no illusions as to the result of the Presidential election. "I shall not replace M. Fallières at the Elysee," she said; "but if the feminists in the Chamber and Senate vote for me—and there are some—it will be interesting. . . . My candidature is not so fantastic as one might think. It means that woman has the right to take her part in government, as she pays her share of the taxes. . . . I am only putting my name forward as representing an idea."

Mlle. Denizard is a keen Suffragist. "If I were successful at the election," she said in the course of another interview, "I should begin by giving women equal political rights with men. What induced me to enter the lists to fight for the Presidency? To vindicate the rights of my sex and obtain justice for women. My mother was left a widow ten years ago. There were four children, and no breadwinner, but the State made no reduction in our taxes. My mother was obliged to pay just as much as before, yet she has no vote, and, although I am now arrived at woman's estate, and have a flat of my own, the only right I possess is that of discharging my financial obligations towards the State. But if we pay the same taxes as men we should have the same rights."

In Italy

The fact that the Italian Chamber of Deputies threw out a measure to give votes to women last May has not by any means diminished the strength of the franchise movement that is going on in Italy. At present Italian women enjoy neither the municipal nor the Parliamentary franchise, and two recent meetings were held in Milan testifying to this demand for the former. At one, a well-known Socialist, Signor Innocenza Capper, made a great effect by an eloquent speech, in the course of which he said:—

"I do not believe that any decent man in Italy would oppose Votes for Women on any pretext of her physiological inferiority; on the contrary, the opposition is purely political. We fear the too great power of Clericalism. Besides, Italy is not a matured nation. Giolitti [the Prime Minister] at present represents the conscience of Italy. He has said, 'No vote' to-day; but to-morrow it is not improbable that he may say 'Votes for Women.' . . . It is the vice of man which destroys respect for mother, wife, sweetheart, and without this political life is sterile. The flame of ideality must be kept alive in our hearts by real enthusiasm, and for this we must have the help of women, and the feminist movement is necessary to Italy."

The other meeting, which was also held to promote the granting of the municipal vote to women, was particularly interesting as being addressed by Signora Teresa Labriola, the fully qualified woman barrister, whose claim to exercise her profession was recently rejected by the Court of Appeal at Rome. According to the account sent to us, she was given an enthusiastic reception, and made a strong, impassioned speech, "in rapid, nervous sentences." Here is a militant passage from her speech:—"If women are to get the franchise there must be a continual manifestation of determined will and activity. The working-class men won the vote because they knew how to fight and conquer. This is not a question of philanthropy, but of obtaining a right. The sovereignty of the people was affirmed by the Revolution in France, and in England at the time of the Revolution. Now, when feminists there (i.e., in England) are fighting with greater fervour, there is greater hope of success."

In Hungary

Frau Rosika Schwimmer, who, it will be remembered, told our representative many interesting facts about the militant Suffrage movement in Hungary when she was in London last October, has sent us a communication with regard to the International Women's Suffrage Congress, which will be held in Budapest on June 15—20, 1913. Oriental women will take part in the Congress for the first time. The Chinese women are going to present a purple banner to the International Suffrage Alliance, embroidered with the words, "Let us hold together; we are working for the same ideals." The leader of the Buddhist women of Burmah, Ma Hla Oung, who is also Town Councillor, will be present with her daughter, Mah Nee Nee. Men and women of other Oriental countries are also expected to attend, including Chinese members of Parliament.

The second Congress of the Men's International Alliance will be held in Budapest at the same time, presided over by Sir John Cockburn.

In Russia

In Russia, too, the militant movement among English Suffragists obtains a hearing, and an enthusiastic one. Recently, a paper was read on it in St. Petersburg by Miss J. W. Wilson, a member of the Women's Social and Political Union, and it was received with the warm applause that might be expected in a country where a struggle for liberty is always going on. This was the first time that a militant suffragist had spoken in St. Petersburg.

A *Reuter* message from St. Petersburg dated Saturday, December 21, states that the Committee of the Council of the Empire has adopted the Bill providing for the admission of women to the Bar.

In Persia

His Excellency Abdul Baha, in the course of an address given at the Essex Hall last week, on "The Equality of Women," said that in Persia to-day women were showing dauntless courage in promoting their movement; they were proving their intelligence and their equality with men in all that applied to science and art, and were attaining to the highest degrees in the colleges. Women had been the inspiration of religious movements in ancient times, and in Persia the Bahai movement had had its martyr heroine, Kurratul Ayn, who had died to open the gate of the newer life to her country-women.

In China

In China, as we stated last week in our "Story of 1912," women have won the municipal vote in the province of Canton, but have been entirely excluded from the new Constitution throughout the rest of China; and this has apparently again aroused the militant spirit of the Chinese women, who, it will be remembered, made such a plucky demonstration at Nankin last February. The following account (dated from Shanghai, December 14) appeared in last Monday's *Daily News*:—

Another sign of the times may be noted in the renewal of Suffragist agitation. It may be remembered that last February, when the Provisional Republican Government was still seated at Nankin, a party of the famous Amazon corps of the revolutionary army burst into the Assembly, stormed at the members, scratched some and broke several windows, because the said Assembly had voted against female suffrage. Whether Miss Tang, who two days ago conducted a similar expedition against the Provisional Council in Pekin, was an Amazon I cannot discover. But certainly the Council had a stormy afternoon. The ladies, to the number of half-a-dozen, demanded to know why the President of the Council was opposed to giving them the vote. As both the President and the Council pleaded business to avoid seeing the ladies, the latter camped in the ante-chamber, while the Council may be supposed to have remained cowering in the Council room. When at last the councillors did venture forth they were received with a hail of abuse, extended finger-nails clawing at the air, and dire threats that if within three days they did not amend the law it would be the worse for them.

Militant Suffragists, reading the above, will know from experience what to delete and what to believe. In China, apparently, finger-nails take the place of hatpins in the fervid imagination of the newspaper reporter. The Pekin Suffragettes have our warm and admiring sympathy.

In Canada

The Suffrage movement is making steady progress in Canada, where new societies have been formed in Ottawa, Toronto, Montreal, and other cities. There is no doubt as to the great impetus given to the movement there by Miss Barbara Wylie's tour in the Province; her meetings have been crowded and enthusiastic, and an entirely new idea of the militant movement in England has been fostered by her able speeches. At Regina, following upon her visit to that city, Mr. Bradshaw, a member of the Provincial Legislature for Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, gave notice that he would move the following resolution in the Provincial Legislature, Regina:

"That, in view of the marked progress being made on the Continent of America by the movement in favour of equal franchise, this House hereby signifies its approval of the extension of the franchise to women."

In the United States

According to the final official figures of the American election in the State of Michigan, the amendment to the Constitution admitting women to the State franchise has been lost—not won, as was originally stated in a telegram to this country when the first results of the poll were made known. It appears that the voters in the rural districts turned the scale, so that the amendment was defeated by the narrow majority of 760 votes; and the women of Michigan, therefore, possess only a partial franchise, something that is midway between what in England would be called the municipal and the Parliamentary franchise. No further decision can be taken before 1914.

Against this temporary reverse in Michigan may be set the news that in Colorado, a Woman Suffrage State, the first woman Senator (not of the United States, but of the Senate of Colorado) has just been elected in Mrs. Robinson, who, it is said, won her victory largely through the votes of women. There are four woman members of the Colorado Lower House, and four in that of Utah, Mrs. Robinson being the first woman to be elected to the Upper House of any Legislature in the United States.

Woman suffragists in New York, led by Miss Elaine Inescort, a popular member of the Actresses' Franchise League, are reported by the *Central News* to have just conducted a canvas of opponents of Woman Suffrage in Fifth Avenue.

THE MILITANT NURSERY

Just to show you which way the wind is blowing. It was after Christmas, and the little maid of eight was sitting disconsolately by the nursery window.

"Aren't you going to play with your new doll?" asked her mother, with a side glance at the discarded present.

"No," said the little girl.

"I thought you liked her so. Don't you?"

"No."

"Oh, but you wanted a nice dolly. One that talked, didn't you?"

No response.

"And this one says 'ma-ma,' 'pa-pa.'"

The little maid's eyes flashed and sparkled as she replied, "I want a doll that says 'Votes for women.'"—**Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper.**

Miss FRANCES WESTE.

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A GRAND JUJUTSU DEMONSTRATION will be held on the 22nd JAN.
Apply for Tickets and Full Particulars at the School.
Special reduced fees to Suffragettes.
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ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS AT DULWICH

A correspondent writes that there was a good deal of interruption from Suffragists during the meeting held by Anti-Suffragists at Dulwich, on January 2; indeed, "at one point in Mr. Arnold Ward's speech there was frank uproar." Mrs. Norris's speech, continues our informant, "was good, and would have been excellent, had she had a case; but one felt she was persistently arguing in a circle and refusing to take the plunge outside it that would have led her somewhere. She said that this movement was sweeping over Europe, but this was not a proof of its value; rather, it was a sign that England should stand firm against it. Nothing was said about Australia and New Zealand. She dwelt on the necessity for woman remaining in her proper sphere, but failed to consider the thousands of women who have no home, but such as they work for and make, ending by saying that it was a glorious thing for a woman to be economically dependent on a man.

Mr. Arnold Ward spoke of chivalry, and persisted in calling woman the "spoilt darling of the law," and said that greater leniency was always shown to women in law courts. He knew of no case (or, at least, very few!) in which a double standard of pay was maintained. When asked about the wages of teachers in elementary and secondary schools, he requested his questioners to communicate privately with him. He further advocated a Referendum on the question, without the inclusion of women, suggesting that there should be an unofficial advisory Referendum of women first.

◆

THE LAST REFORM BUT ONE!

Women Geographers

The Referendum to the general body of Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society, on the motion "That the Society approves the election of women as Fellows," had resulted, down to December 20, as follows:—

Yes, 1,796; No, 578; Unsigned, 43;
Conditional, 33.

Lord Curzon, President of the Society, with whom the proposal originated, has circularized the members to express a hope that "the Special General Meeting of January 15, which has been called to decide the matter, will be largely and representatively attended, in order that the general sense of the Society may be reflected by the vote."

Truly, anti-Suffragists are past-masters in the art of accepting the last reform but one! In 1893 the Royal Geographical Society rescinded its own by-law to admit women as Fellows, under which several well-known women had already been elected, including Mrs. French Sheldon, Lady Fox Young, and others. Now we have a noted anti-Suffragist advocating their election once more, though why women like Miss M. E. Durham, Mrs. Mary Gaunt, and Mrs. Bullock Workman should be considered fit to put F.R.G.S. after their own names and unfit to put a cross after the name of a Parliamentary candidate, is more than mere logic can explain.

◆

"THE SPOILT DARLING OF THE LAW"

For precisely the same offence (using obscene language) at the same police court (Peterborough) and on the same day in last week, a woman was fined 15s. and a man only 2s. 6d.

◆

THE AGE OF CONSENT

At the Cheshire Quarter Sessions last month, in discussing a resolution from the Lindsey Quarter Sessions, calling for the strengthening of the law for the protection of children against criminal assault, Mr. Raffles Bulley said the law was unsatisfactory, but recommended that it should be steadily enforced. Sentence after sentence of three months' imprisonment was passed when the maximum allowed was two years' imprisonment with hard labour. The age of consent should be raised from sixteen to eighteen, and the *onus* of proving a girl was over sixteen thrown absolutely on the defendant. He moved amendments to this effect, but, as the chairman ruled that notice must be given, further discussion was adjourned.

◆

EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

Speaking at the Educational Conference being held this week at the University of London, Professor Michael Sadler said that on the administrative side the advocates of Civil Service status for teachers would have to overcome in England practical difficulties of a very serious nature. For example, two-thirds of the teachers in English schools were women. If the State made all teachers Civil servants it would have to decide on the threshold the question of the scale of payment to be made to men and women teachers, often working together in the same schools. He himself believed that the sex line was not the true criterion of differentiation in salaries (loud applause), but if the State took over the whole teaching profession it would be driven to frame general scales of salary which would have to be enforced without much regard to individual merit, and in devising such a scale the State, under present conditions, would almost inevitably differentiate between men and women as such.

THE CASE OF MRS. NAPOLITANO

Our readers will remember that during the summer of 1911 we gave publicity to the story of Angelina Napolitano, the Italian woman who was condemned to death for the murder of her husband, and whose sentence, after a widespread agitation, was commuted to penal servitude for life. We have now received further details of this terrible case from a lady who, with another lady, has been interesting herself in an agitation for Mrs. Napolitano's release. Our correspondent recalls the details of the case as follows:—

"An Italian, Napolitano, of Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, assaulted and wounded his wife, Angelina, so savagely that she was for weeks in hospital from her injuries. It was found that he had left his wife and family to shift for themselves, after selling the furniture, but that he still regarded his wife as his property, and demanded of her that she should obtain money from other men, and turn over such earnings to him. Her refusal to do this had caused his violence. He was tried and sentenced to three years in the Kingston penitentiary, but was let out after serving a week in jail. No explanation has ever been given of the carelessness that so soon set free an obviously dangerous convict. Napolitano was before long again threatening Angelina, insisting that she should earn the servile wages for him. On Sunday, April 16, 1911, he told her that if she again refused he would kill her after his afternoon sleep. He had half-killed her before, and legal protection had failed her. The only choice seemed to be his death or her own. But suicide is most unnatural to a prospective mother. Instead of suicide she killed her cruel enemy, in self-defence.

"No humane consideration prevented her being tried within a month, and on May 9, 1911, she was sentenced to be hanged. The same day the same jury recommended to mercy an Italian man who had murdered another, taking him by stealth at night, who said he had killed the wrong man by mistake. The execution of Angelina was to be deferred till after the birth of her child. Her reprieve from death was probably chiefly due to the protests which came from more humane countries. Angelina's baby was taken from her at the age of six weeks, and died of starvation from lack of suitable food. Her four children were found neatly clothed, and are bright and docile, showing the care of a good mother.

"A deputation of ladies from Toronto waited on the Minister of Justice, the Hon. C. J. Doherty, to ask him to release Mrs. Napolitano, and restore her to her children. He promised his attention to the case, but neglected to return any reply. For a number of months it was hoped that the National Council of Women would press for ~~justice and mercy~~ in this case, but they, also, neglected it.

"The Minister of Justice has now again been appealed to, through one of the Cabinet Ministers. In his reply he ignores all the important features of the case, and refuses any further clemency."

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To the Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—Will you kindly allow me to point out that the statement in regard to the policy of the Women's Freedom League which you make in the current issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN is not quite accurate. We do not support the Labour Party at by-elections, but we do support a Labour candidate in a three-cornered contest with the object of splitting the vote of the Government candidate. Our policy is first and last an anti-Government policy, and we consider that definite support given to a Labour candidate in a three-cornered contest is an effective way of hitting the Government candidate—it certainly lessens the chance of the latter's return to Parliament.—Yours, &c.,

FLORENCE A. UNDERWOOD.

1, Robert Street, Adelphi, Strand, London, W.C.

The statement referred to was in "The Story of 1912," and ran as follows:—

"About this time [June, 1912] the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and the Women's Freedom League decided to adopt the policy of supporting the Labour Party at elections."

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Owing to an increasing demand we are starting a Feminist Lending Library in connection with this shop, and should like to make an appeal through your columns for the gift of books on all subjects relating to women, whether it be social, political, industrial, or educational. To those who are unable to help us in this way we make a special appeal for contributions to enable us to buy books, as we are anxious to cover as wide a field as possible. The value for propaganda purposes of a good collection of books dealing with all aspects of the Woman's Movement can hardly be overrated, and we trust that all friends and sympathisers will do what they can to assist us.

All communications should be addressed to the Librarian, The International Suffrage Shop, 15, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.—Yours truly,

p.p. S. SERUYA.

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Messrs. Day, the Ladies' Tailors who advertise regularly in VOTES FOR WOMEN, with the object of keeping the staff employed during the slack season, are making some special reductions in their charges during January. Readers should send for particulars, 51 and 52, Park Street, Regents Park (close to Camden Town Tube Station).

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made by the cottagers of
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Send Postcard for Pamphlet. Tel. No. 6348 Central.
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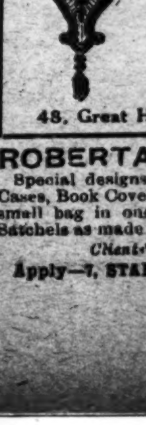

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Enamelled in the Fellowship Colours: Purple, White & Green.
Suite complete, in plush case, sent carriage paid, 12/6.
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Special designs in Belts, Blotters, Cushions, Letter Cases, Book Covers, "Emmeline" Bags (a large and a small bag in one), "Christabel" Shopping Bags, Satchels as made for Miss Ellen Terry, etc., etc.
Clients' ideas carefully carried out.
Apply—7, STANSFIELD ROAD, BRIXTON, S.W.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single insertion, 24 words or less, 2s. 1d. per word for every additional word Four insertions for the price of three.)

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager. VOTES FOR WOMEN, *4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.*

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

SPECIAL MEETING. — White Slave Traffic, January 17, 3 p.m., at 24, Buckingham Gate. Tickets (free) from Secretary, N.C.S.W.S., 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

"QUI VIVE!"—Would all Suffragists residing near "Somerset and Dorset" railway lines communicate with Mrs. R. Bentinck, 78, Harley Street, W.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE will hold a Public Meeting at Caxton Hall, Westminster, Wednesday, January 15, at 3.30. Speakers: H. D. Harben, Esq., and Mrs. Nevinson. Chairman, Mrs. Despard. Admission free.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, daintiest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d.; en pension 9s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions.—Manageress, 4788 Gerrard.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, superior, from 30s. Close Baker Street Underground and Tube. Bed and breakfast, 3s. 6d. per day. Telephone 4339 Paddington.—Mrs. Campbell, 5 and 7, York Street, Portman Square, W.

BOARD-RESIDENCE.—Close to Parliament Hill. Every home comfort; easy access to all parts of London, tube, rail, or car.—8, Boscastle Road, N.W.

BRIGHTON.—TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good Table. Congenial Society. Terms from 25s. —Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

FOLKESTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road, W. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required.—Miss Key (W.S.P.U.)

GUESTS received in Lady's Country House; good cooking, vegetarian if required; indoor sanitation; hot baths; home comforts; south aspect; bracing.—Box 256, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court.

HOSTEL FOR LADIES.—10min. from University and British Museum. Bed-sitting rooms with breakfast, also partial board; moderate; pleasant house.—31, Oakley Square, N.W.

HYDE PARK.—Comfortable, Refined Home, ladies, 17s. 6d. to 25s.; day, 4s. 6d. Telephone, 6169 Paddington.—Miss Simmons, 19, James Street, Westbourne.

LADY, living alone in Cottage, 25 miles from London, wishes to meet with another as Paying Guest; would suit Student or one requiring rest; lovely country.—Box 298, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, London, E.C.

LONDON, W.C. (113, Gower Street).—Refined HOME (ladies). Bed, breakfast, dinner, and full board Sundays (cubicle), from 15s. 6d. Rooms, 18s. 6d. Full board, 17s. 6d. to 25s. Gentlemen from 19s. 6d.

PRIVATE HOTEL, for Ladies only; quiet and refined; 13, St. George's Square, Westminster; bedroom, breakfast, bath and attendance, from 4s. 6d.—Write or wire Miss Davies.

REGENT'S PARK, N.W.—3, Gloucester Road; furnished apartments or board-residence; close to Park and Zoo; 1d. Oxford Circus; every convenience; terms moderate.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies.—Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

SUFFRAGETTES, keep well and fit by spending your week-ends at Brighton. Comfortable Board-residence at Miss Turner (W.S.P.U.), Sea View, Victoria Road. Terms Moderate, Nat. Tel., 1702 Brighton.

SUPERIOR BOARD-RESIDENCE for those engaged in City; food reform or ordinary diet; close to Midland and Great Northern Stations.—"Evanstor," Mill Hill, N.W.

29 AND 30, QUEEN SQUARE, W.C.—High-class boarding establishment, terms from 35s. weekly; 6s. per day; heated throughout hot water system.—Proprietress.

TO BE LET OR SOLD.

CHARMING detached Cottages and Houses, built in historic park of 500 acres, adjoining magnificent golf course; 25 minutes from City; good gardens; prices from £375; easy instalments; rents from £32.—Write (or call) to-day for free illustrated descriptive booklet, House and Cottage Department, Gidea Park, Ltd., 41, Heath Drive, Gidea Park, Romford.

LADIES, with furniture, can have room (use of sitting, board) in home now being formed.—34, Somerfield Road, Finsbury Park. Close to Tube.

LADY wishes another, engaged during day to share her well-furnished flat, Marylebone; 25s. to 30s. per week; with breakfast only, 17s. 6d.—D., VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court.

LARGE ROOM to Let, suitable for Meetings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.

WANTED.

INSTRUCTION in Private Secretarial Work, social and political; preferably by ex-secretary to lady of title or position.—State terms, hours (not evenings), to Box 292, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, E.C.

LADY, living in Flat, wants kind home for black male Persian cat. Garden essential. —Mrs. Atkins, 96, Redcliffe Gardens, Kensington.

WANTED, end of January, a clean, quiet bed-sitting-room, bath, slight attendance, for gentlewoman (engaged daily); terms moderate, near Kingsway.—Write, Box 290, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

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ADA MOORE gives Lessons in Singing and Voice Production; diction a speciality.—106, Beaufort Mansions, London, S.W. West End studio. Visits Brighton weekly.

ANSTEY PHYSICAL TRAINING COLLEGE, CHESTER ROAD, ERDINGTON.—The College offers a full professional training for girls seeking a useful and attractive calling. Swedish Educational Gymnastics, Folk Dances. Classical and Artistic Dancing. Swimming and Outdoor Games. Remedial Gymnastics and Massage.
Good Posts obtained after training.

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LADIES suffering from Neglected Education speedily benefit by my course of Postal Tuition; writing, general knowledge, correct speech.—Miss T., 31, Compton Road, Winchmore Hill.

MRS. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O. (Hon. Organist to the W.S.P.U.). Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers. Private Lessons in Singing. Singing Classes and Ladies' Choir. Please note change of address to "The Châlet," 2, Fulham Park Road, S.W.

MRS. MARY OATEN'S Dental Surgery, 10, Sydney Place, South Kensington, S.W. Telephone: Ken. 1084.—Artificial teeth at reasonable prices. Extractions absolutely painless. Gold fillings a specialty.

MOTOR-DRIVING and Mechanism.—Miss Addis Price personally instructs ladies in all branches; terms on application.—36, Long Acre. Phone 1642 Gerrard.

RUSSIAN GENTLEMAN, of high education, gives Russian Lessons, undertakes translations and literary work into Russian or English. —Write 3, Christchurch Place, Hampstead, N.W.

THE LITTLE SALON SOCIAL LITERARY MEETINGS reassemble shortly. For Membership, write L. Salon, 24, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.

THE TEMPLE SCHOOL OF SHORTHAND AND SECRETARIAL AND TYPEWRITING OFFICES.—Expert tuition at moderate fees. Thorough and practical training. Day and evening classes and postal work. Write for prospectus to the Secretary, 27, Chancery Lane, W.C.

TO SUFFRAGETTES. — Free Dental Advice and Artificial Teeth at hospital prices; recommended by members W.S.P.U.; absolutely no pain.—Mr. Medley, 39, Beauchamp Place, S.W. (near Harrod's).

TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private classes or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness, ... while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

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DRESSMAKER, about to retire, will shortly have for disposal well-established Business in main road, Herne Hill, with excellent connections. Good premises at low rental. Purchaser could retain entire plant and stock, and services of staff.—Box No. 296, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court.

REMOVING and WAREHOUSING.—Ask for free advice and estimate, the London Storage Co., Westwood House, 210, High Holborn, W.C. Telephone, Gerrard 9188. Extensive Warehouses, Dry Rooms; low rates; established 1843.

SITUATIONS WANTED.

LADY desires post as Housekeeper in house or flat in London; good cook, thoroughly domesticated.—M., VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, E.C.

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TRAVELLING COMPANION (used to roughing it), Cook-housekeeper, Secretary.—Vegetarian wants post with unconventional people. Prefer travelling, especially with lady artist, or mountaineering, but cook unusually well, like taking care of people, understand food values.—C., Bellevue, Norton, Letchworth.

YOUNG LADY (Vegetarian) desires position as Housekeeper to a refined family, or single lady, anxious to adopt food reform; thoroughly domesticated; clever cook.—Reply, S. A., 156, Streatham High Road, S.W.

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FOOD REFORMERS' EMPLOYMENT BUREAU.—Wanted immediately, Housekeepers, Cooks, Nurses, General Helps, Servants, &c. Stamped envelope.—Apply, Secretary, 38, Beulah Road, East Thornton Heath, Surrey.

RESIDENT LADY desired by Professional Woman to take care of 2 little boys (3 and 5½—elder attends school), and do the work of small cottage. Must be healthy. Under 30 preferred. Help given. Salary, £20.—Box 300, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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WANTED.—Vegetarian Cook, 18 to 25; 3 in family, two servants, small house, no basement, no late dinner; wages, £18.—Reply C., 74, Stanford Avenue, Brighton.

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GARDENING for Health. Ladies received; charming country residence; elevated situation; open-air life; competent instruction; individual consideration.—Peake, Udimore, Rye.

SPLENDID OPPORTUNITY for Girl wishing to learn Gardening; healthy life; thorough practical training; prospectus on application. Glen Gardens, Canford Cliffs, Dorset.—Box 260, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court.

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ANTISEPTIC ELECTROLYSIS scientifically and effectually performed. It is the only *permanent* cure for Superfluous Hair. Highest medical references. Special terms to those engaged in teaching, clerical work, &c. Consultation free.—Miss Marion Lindsay, 35, Cambridge Place, Norfolk Square, W. Telephone: 337 Mayfair.

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MASSEUSE visits Patients for general Massage; putting on or reducing weight; face massage, &c.—Apply, Box 230, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

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CONFECTIONERY AND SWEET-MAKING for the Holidays; over 250 valuable recipes of cakes, scones, shortbreads, Goosnargh cakes, marzipan, nougat, &c., 1s. 6d., post free.—Clarke, 51, Garden Walk, Ashton, Preston.

FRESH FISH, DIRECT FROM THE STEAMER, sent off immediately after being landed; dressed for cooking, carriage paid; special terms to Schools, Convents, and Institutions. Choice parcels, value 2s. 6d., 3s., 4s., 5s., and upwards.—Write for circular to SECRETARY, ENTERPRISE FISHING CO. (DEPT. G), ABERDEEN.

FRESH FISH.—Direct from Steamer. Carriage paid; cleaned and prepared for cooking; send 1s. 6d. for 4lb choice parcel.—The Quality Fish Supply Co. (Dept. K), Aberdeen.

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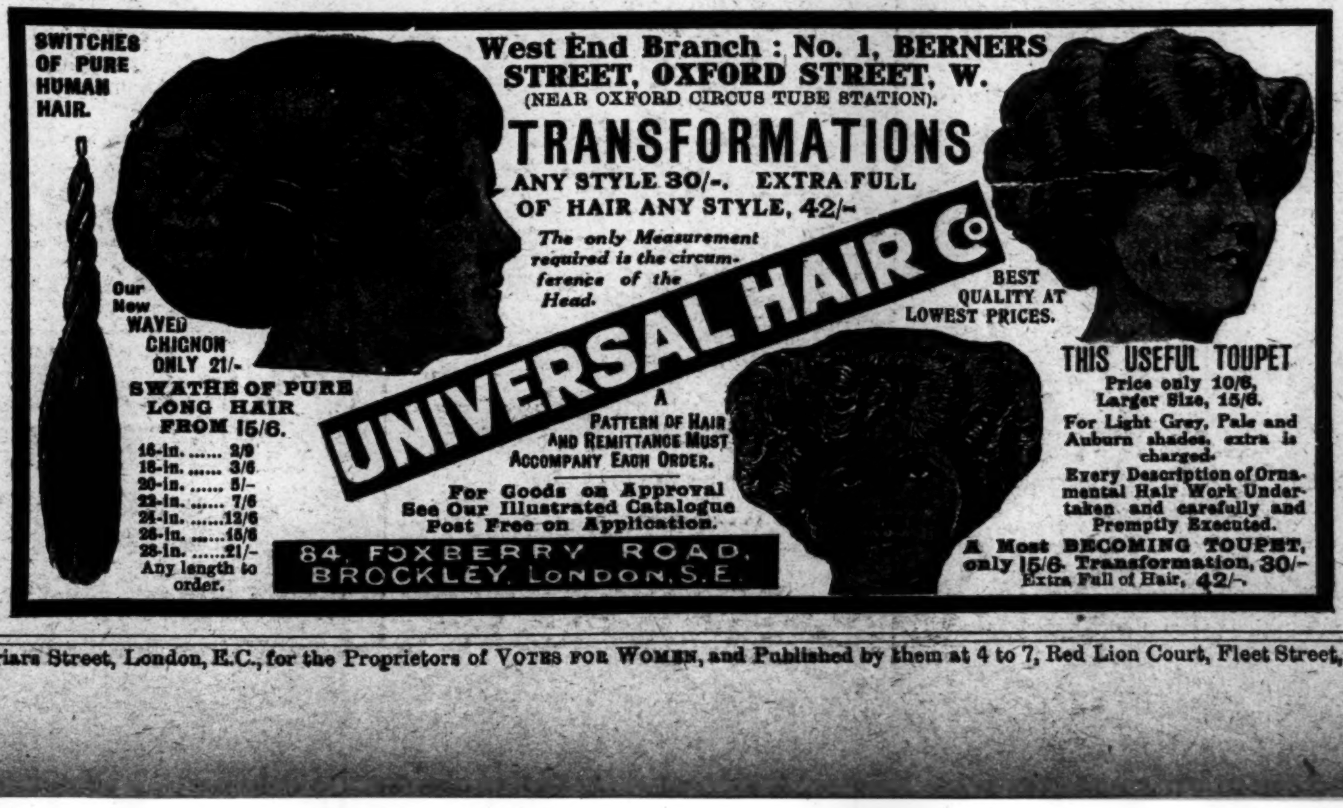

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18-in.	3/6
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